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ABSTRACT

This report, part of a series on the employment and training needs of Hispanics in Michigan, is comprised of three papers. The first is an analysis of Michigan State data obtained from the 1980 census. The data indicate that: (1) Hispanics represent about 2 percent of Michigan's total population; (2) about 70 percent of these Hispanics are of Mexican origin; (3) the Hispanic population is much younger than the non-Hispanic population; (4) Hispanic households are significantly larger than non-Hispanic households; (5) Michigan Hispanics are still largely bilingual and have a low level of formal education; and (6) their economic position is midway between that of Whites and Blacks. The second paper provides a more detailed look at the Hispanic population of Adrian and Lenawee Counties, including the background of their arrival and settlement, present conflicts, and future problems and prospects. A number of policy recommendations are made. The third paper offers a similar analysis of Hispanics in the Greater Lansing area, including a profile of the area, employment and training programs currently in operation, a summary of responses to interviews, and respondent recommendations for action in the areas of education, public and private employment, and political action. Statistical data are presented in all three sections of the report. (CJM)

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EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING NEEDS OF HISPANICS IN MICHIGAN

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Office of Management Practices
Department of Management and Budget
State of Michigan

EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING NEEDS OF HISPANICS IN MICHIGAN

Census Analysis

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Michigan Commission on
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PREFACE

This report is part of a four-volume series on employment and training needs of Hispanics in Michigan. In the areas selected for analysis, the objective is to provide documentation and rationales toward a more informed advocacy agenda.

The complete series consists of separately bound but related reports. Respective volumes and individual reports are:

- Socioeconomic Status
  - Census Analysis
  - Hispanics in Adrian and Lenawee County
  - Hispanics in the Greater Lansing Area
- Statistical Handbook
- Agency Services
  - Education
  - Social Services
  - Labor
- Program Design

All reports have been produced through a project funded by the Bureau of Employment and Training, Michigan Department of Labor, under a Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) Special Governor's Grant.

The Office of Management Practices has carried out project activities on behalf of, and in cooperation with, the Michigan Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs. Throughout the project an advisory group, chaired by Commissioner Juan Marinez, has furnished guidance on scope and methods, monitored progress, and reviewed successive draft reports.

For this report, Carlos H. Arce, Ph.D., Assistant Research Scientist in the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, and Executive Director, National Chicano Council on Higher Education, has served as senior consultant on the project team.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Data on Hispanics from the 1980 Census represents the richest and most reliable information on Hispanics yet available. Using special tabulations from magnetic tape data files, tables and maps have been generated and included in this report. There also is some discussion on the usefulness and limitations of Census data for assessing the status of Hispanics in Michigan.

Population Size and Distribution

The April 1980 Census count of Hispanics in Michigan is 162,440. This represents 1.8% of the total population of the state. The rate of Hispanic population growth in Michigan exceeds that of Whites in the state but is substantially below Hispanic growth rates in most other states. Michigan's Hispanic population tends to be concentrated in relatively few areas. Eight counties (Wayne, Oakland, Saginaw, Ingham, Kent, Genesee, Macomb, and Ottawa) have more than five thousand Hispanics each. Two smaller counties (Lenawee and Bay) have significant percentages of Hispanics. These ten counties account for three-quarters of the state's Hispanic population. Wayne County alone contains 29% of the total.

Ethnic and Racial Distribution

Nearly 70% of Michigan's Hispanics are Mexican-American. About 10% are Puerto Rican or Cuban, and 20% are Other Spanish. Mexican origin persons predominate among Hispanics in all counties of the state. Their current distribution coincides with the presence of auto-related manufacturing or assembly plants. Racially, the majority of Hispanics in Michigan tend to identify themselves as White (53%) or "Other" (39%). Contrary to the common stereotype, Hispanics in most Michigan communities are more likely to be dispersed than to be concentrated in urban enclaves (barrios). Only Saginaw and Wayne Counties have barrios of significant size. This may account for the low visibility of Hispanics in the state.

Age and Marital Status

A significant characteristic of the Hispanic population, with widespread implications for employment and training, is its youthfulness. Michigan Hispanics, as a group, are much younger than non-Hispanic Whites (median age is 21.3 and 29.7 years, respectively). Because of the large number of youngsters in this population a high proportion, especially for females, has never been married. The majority of Hispanics are in two-parent families, as are their White counterparts.

Housing

Hispanic households in Michigan are significantly larger than non-Hispanic households (mean of 3.8 persons versus 2.9 persons). They tend to be family units. Hispanic households are more crowded, when measured as number of persons per room. The majority of Michigan's Hispanics are homeowners (59%), but this is about 10 percentage points below the rate for Whites. Their homes tend to be older. Thirty percent, for example, are over 40 years old.

Education and Language

A salient characteristic of Michigan's Hispanic population is its lower level of formal education. Of Hispanics over age 24, 32% have less than six years of schooling, compared to 14% for Whites. Less than 10% have four or more years of college, as against nearly 15% for Whites. Michigan's Hispanics are still largely bilingual, although school-age Hispanic youth are more likely to be English speakers.

Economic Status

In family income and poverty level, Hispanics tend to have a position intermediate between Whites and Blacks. Michigan has 18.7% of its Hispanics below the poverty level, versus 7.9% for Whites and 25.8% for Blacks.

Unemployment rates follow a similar pattern. In April 1980, the percents unemployed among Michigan Hispanics, Whites, and Blacks were 17.4%, 9.5%, and 21.5%, respectively. Ingham, Saginaw, and Genesee counties had the most severe Hispanic unemployment totals in Michigan.

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Introduction

A statistical portrait of Michigan Hispanics based on data from the 1980 U.S. Census of Population and Housing has various constraints. These constraints stem from the nature of the questions asked by the Bureau of the Census and the current availability of released information. In spite of these limitations, the 1980 Census represents the best-ever source of detailed and local level statistical information on the Hispanic population. For the first time, a Hispanic origin identifier item was asked of all enumerated persons. In addition, the Census Bureau engaged in the most intensive efforts ever undertaken to reach the Hispanic population.

Undercount problems may still affect full documentation of the Hispanic population. To date, however, there is no empirical estimation of undercount rates for Hispanics in the 1980 Census.

Principal sources for this report are the Summary Tape Files 1, 2, and 3, and several printed reports recently published by the Bureau of the Census. Unless otherwise specified, all data reported here are from special tabulations from magnetic tape data files.[1] Although of a preliminary nature, this document can be most useful to state and local officials, agency staffs, and others who are interested in an empirical description of the condition of Hispanics in Michigan and in selected areas of the state.

Population Size and Distribution

Numbers and Growth

At the time of the decennial Census of the United States in April 1980, the Hispanic population of the state of Michigan totaled 162,388. This ethnic minority represents 1.8% of the total population of the state.

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[1]The principal focus of the project that produced this report is employment and training needs. Most of the data presented here are related to this focus. However, information on other topics, such as housing, from currently available 1980 Census data is also presented.

Table 1

Hispanic Population Patterns, by Region: 1970 and 1980

Region	1970 Hispanic Population	1980 Hispanic Population	1970-1980 Hispanic Change	% Hispanic in area 1980	% of Total Hispanic Population, 1980
State of Michigan	151,070	162,388	+7.5%	1.8	1.1
Southwest (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas)	5,008,556	8,785,717	+75.4	19.6	60.2
Atlantic (Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island)	1,888,556	2,590,365	+37.2	5.6	17.7
Florida	405,036	857,898	+111.8	8.8	5.9
Illinois	393,204	635,525	+61.6	5.6	4.4
Other Western States (Alaska, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming)	199,846	451,971	+126.2	3.6	3.1
Other Great Lakes States (Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin)	305,342	269,881	-11.6	1.3	1.8
Other Southern States (Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oaklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia)	516,023	629,631	+22.0	1.2	4.3
Great Plains States (Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska North Dakota, South Dakota)	198,645	208,611	+5.0	1.2	1.4
Northern New England (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont)	6,324	13,896	+119.7	0.5	0.1
Total for U.S.	9,072,602	14,605,883	+61.0	6.4	100.0

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1970, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Origin (PC(2)-1C); and 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Advance Reports, United States Summary (PHC80-V-1).

Between 1970 and 1980, the overall population of Michigan increased only slightly. Relatively modest population growth was typical for this period throughout the North Central and Northeastern regions of the country. As in the case of most other North Central states (Great Lakes and Great Plains regions), Michigan's Hispanic population also increased at the very slow rate of 7.5% for the decade (Table 1). This growth in numbers is well below the dramatically high increases of Hispanic population in other regions of the country, but is slightly greater than the 4.2% growth in Michigan's overall population.

Although the Hispanic population in Michigan is not very significant demographically, several factors contribute to making it more important than sheer numbers would suggest. First, the Hispanic population tends to be concentrated in a relatively few parts of the state, thus making it quite visible and significant in several localities of the state. Second, Hispanics often represent a very stable and long established population of the state, with unusual growth potential due to its relative youth. Third, Hispanics in Michigan, like their counterparts in the rest of the country, constitute a disproportionate share of the disadvantaged.

Geographic Distribution

Within Michigan, there are a relatively limited number of number of locations in which the Hispanic population is to be found in statistically significant numbers. In most of the tables and much of the narrative below, the discussion is restricted to those counties of Michigan which have at least 5,000 Hispanics (Wayne, Oakland, Saginaw, Ingham, Kent, Genesee, Macomb and Ottawa Counties) or which have over 2,000 Hispanics and in which at least 2.5% of the County's population is Hispanic (Lenawee and Bay Counties). As can be inferred from the data in Table 2, these ten counties have nearly three-quarters (73.5%) of the Hispanic population of the state. This represents a degree of population concentration which far exceeds that of the general population of the state. Table 2 also demonstrates the great concentration of Hispanics in the Detroit area. Around 28.5% of the state total are in Wayne County alone, and over 40% are in the tri-county area of Wayne, Oakland and Macomb.

Table 2

Hispanic Population in Michigan
by County, 1980

County/Region	Number of Hispanics in County	% of Hispanics in State	% of Population in County
Wayne	46,318	28.5%	2.0%
Oakland	14,478	8.9	1.4
Saginaw	12,356	7.6	5.4
Ingham	10,559	6.5	3.8
Kent	8,741	5.4	2.0
Genesee	7,649	4.7	1.7
Macomb	6,638	4.1	1.0
Ottawa	5,006	3.1	3.2
Lenawee	4,573	2.8	5.1
Washtenaw	4,055	2.5	1.5
Bay	3,162	1.9	2.6
Muskegon	2,833	1.7	1.8
Kalamazoo	2,605	1.6	1.2
Calhoun	2,433	1.5	1.7
Berrien	2,088	1.3	1.2
St. Clair	2,066	1.3	1.5
Allegan	2,011	1.2	2.5
Jackson	1,807	1.1	1.2
Monroe	1,803	1.1	1.3
Eaton	1,616	1.0	1.8
Van Buren	1,499	0.9	2.2

Table 2 (continued)

County/Region	Number of Hispanics in County	% of Hispanics in State	% of Population in County
Lapeer	1,325	0.8	1.9
Gratiot	1,321	0.8	3.3
Oceana	1,132	0.7	5.1
Tuscola	1,066	0.7	1.8
Clinton	991	0.6	1.8
Ionia	907	0.6	1.8
Sanilac	861	0.5	2.1
Shiawassee	818	0.5	1.1
Midland	810	0.5	1.1
Livingston	781	0.5	0.8
Newaygo	680	0.4	1.9
Isabella	662	0.4	1.2
Montcalm	581	0.4	1.2
Barry	420	0.3	0.9
Huron	396	0.2	1.1
St. Joseph	386	0.2	0.7
Cass	337	0.2	0.7
Hillsdale	307	0.2	0.7
Branch	223	0.1	0.6
Mecosta	202	0.1	0.5
N. Lower Peninsula*	2,841	1.7	n/a
Upper Peninsula . .	1,157	0.8	n/a

*Twenty seven counties north of the Oceana County to Bay County line.

Map A

Hispanic Population in Michigan
by County, 1980

Counties with 5001 or more Hispanic inhabitants
Counties with 2001-5000 Hispanic Inhabitants
Counties with 500-2000 Hispanic inhabitants
Counties with 499 or less Hispanic inhabitants

Table 2 displays the 1980 number and statewide proportion of Michigan Hispanics within each county as well as the Hispanic population density (i.e., percentage) by county. It is thus possible to note that some counties (e.g., Oakland, Genesee, Macomb, and Washtenaw) have sizeable numbers of Hispanics but not a particularly significant percentage of Hispanics (under 2%). Other Counties, (e.g., Lenawee, Bay, Gratiot, Allegan and Oceana) have relatively few Hispanics (under 5,000), but with substantially more visibility and importance due to their being a higher percentage of the county's population. Hispanic population size is also shown in Map A, which further shows the numerical concentration of Hispanics in the state's metropolitan centers.

The distribution of Hispanics in the state of Michigan, excluding Detroit, is closely related to the settlement history of this population. As shown in Map B, the historical relationship of Hispanic settlement around agricultural labor needs is still apparent in the proportional rather than numerical concentration of Hispanics in four areas of the state. First, there is the western region comprised of rural/small town agricultural Counties of Oceana, Ottawa, Allegan, Newaygo and Van Buren, as well as rural parts of Kent and Muskegon Counties. Second, there is a central corridor of the state from Bay to Calhoun Counties, in which significant numbers of agriculture-based Hispanic settlers have moved to urban and industrial locations (e.g., Saginaw and Lansing). A third Hispanic "region" which has origins principally in agriculture is the "thumb" area of the state, comprising Tuscola, Sanilac, Lapeer, St. Clair and part of Genesee Counties. The fourth area includes Adrian and part of Washtenaw Counties; this area's settlement by Hispanics (mostly of Mexican origin) is more closely related to communities in northwestern Ohio.

Another useful display of the Hispanic population is by state planning regions, which are comprised of whole counties. State government planning and administration often uses these regions. Their Hispanic and total population is shown in Table 3.

Changes Since 1970

Until the 1970 U.S. Census, counts of the Hispanic population in Michigan and in most of the United States, were estimates -- based on small sample data -- rather than actual enumerations. Also, ethnic identifiers used by the Census Bureau have changed over time. For these reasons, it is very difficult to estimate accurately changes in the Hispanic population for small areas such as cities and counties. It is possible, however, to explore changes in the Hispanic population between 1970 and 1980 for the entire

state and selected metropolitan areas which have sufficiently large Hispanic populations to allow for reliable base figures for 1970.

In Table 4, 1970 and 1980 Census figures for the Hispanic population are compared, along with those of the other racial/ethnic populations of the state. The largest percentage increases in Hispanic population have occurred in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) whose employment is less concentrated on automobile and manufacturing and which have have had relatively small Hispanic populations. The Flint SMSA actually experienced a decline in Hispanic population, and the Detroit SMSA had only a very modest increase in Hispanics. In contrast, the Lansing and Saginaw SMSA's, which have significant numbers of Hispanics, had major increases in Hispanic population between 1970 and 1980. The Hispanic population in these two communities tends also to be younger than that in other areas of the state.

Ethnic and Racial Distribution

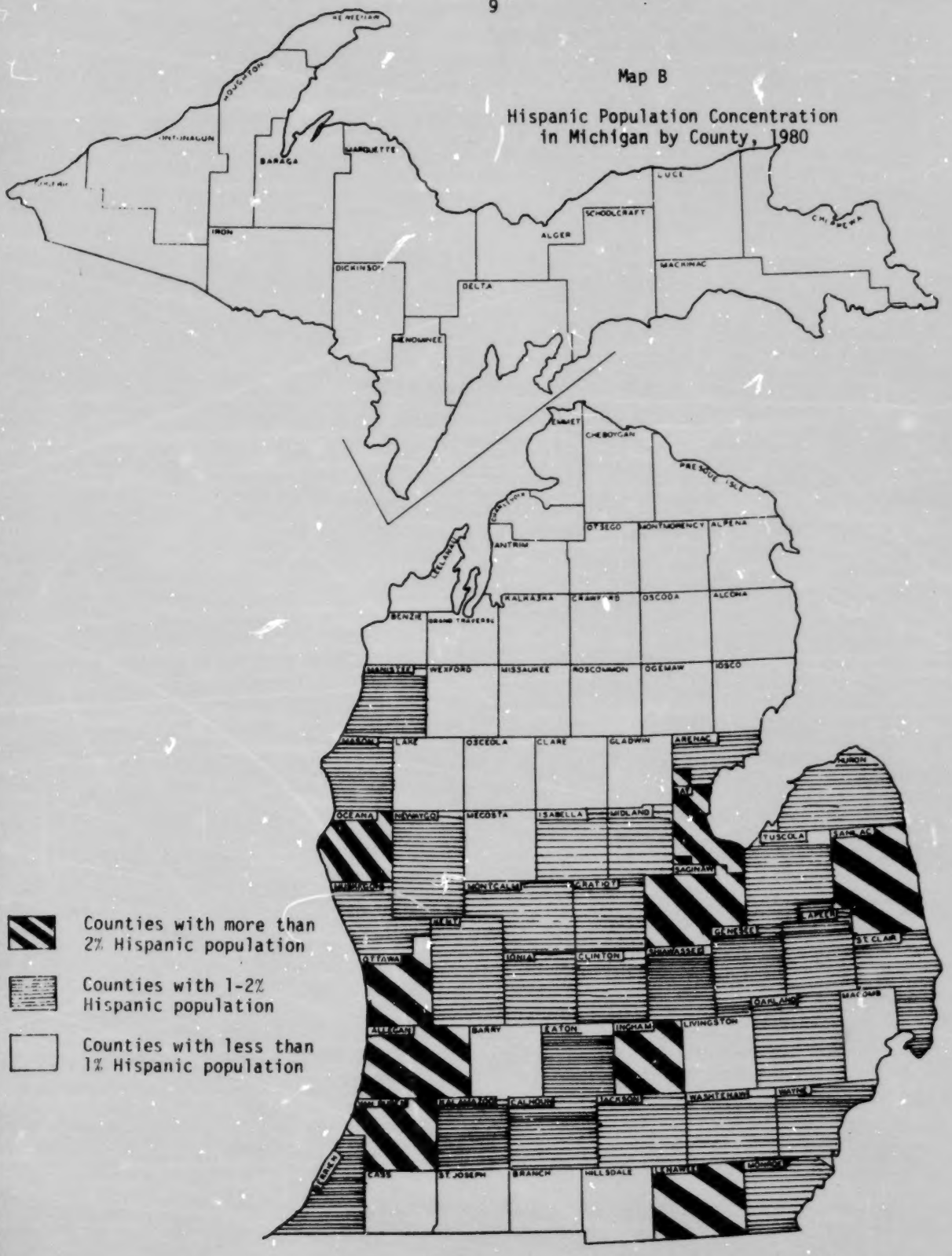
Ethnic

Mexican origin persons comprise the majority of Michigan Hispanics, followed by Other Spanish, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. (See Table 5).

Mexican origin persons predominate proportionately and numerically in all counties of the state. They comprise sixty percent or less of the Hispanic population only in Macomb, Oakland and Kent Counties. Even in these counties, where Mexican origin persons have the lowest proportional representation, one of every two Hispanics is of Mexican origin. The reason as to why they are the "least Mexican" areas of Michigan is probably related to their suburban character which has attracted other, more affluent Hispanics.

Map B

Hispanic Population Concentration
in Michigan by County, 1980



Counties with more than 2% Hispanic population

Counties with 1-2% Hispanic population

Counties with less than 1% Hispanic population

Table 3

Total and Hispanic Population in Michigan by Planning Region, 1980

Area/Region	Total Population	Hispanic Population	% Hispanic
State of Michigan	9,258,344	162,388	1.75%
Region I	4,682,131	76,122	1.62
Region II	283,514	6,687	2.36
Region III . . .	495,987	6,067	1.22
Region IV	287,589	3,924	1.38
Region V	591,627	9,792	1.65
Region VI	416,667	13,130	3.15
Region VII . . .	769,929	21,323	2.77
Region VIII . . .	750,313	3,649	1.82
Region IX	115,779	378	.33
Region X	208,286	1,188	.57
Region XI	45,866	137	.30
Region XII . . .	182,390	752	.41
Region XIII . . .	91,501	268	.29
Region XIV . . .	336,765	8,971	2.66

Table 4

Population and Ethnic Trends for State of Michigan
and Selected SMSA's, 1970-1980

Area	1970	% of Total	1980	% of Total	% Change 1970-1980
Michigan	8,881,826	100.0%	9,262,078	100.0%	4.3%
White	7,833,474	88.2	7,872,241	85.0	0.5
Black	991,066	11.2	1,199,023	12.9	21.0
Asian	17,724	0.2	56,790	0.6	220.4
American Indian	16,012	0.2	40,050	0.4	150.1
Hispanic	151,070	1.7	162,440	1.8	7.5
SMSA's					
Detroit	4,435,051	100.0	4,353,413	100.0	-1.8
White	3,423,658	77.2	3,376,800	77.6	-1.4
Black	757,014	17.1	890,532	20.5	17.6
Hispanic	66,585	1.5	71,606	1.6	7.5
Grand Rapids	539,225	100.0	601,680	100.0	11.6
White	513,986	95.3	556,301	92.5	8.2
Black	23,136	4.3	32,092	5.3	38.7
Hispanic	10,588	2.0	13,748	2.3	29.8
Flint	508,664	100.0	521,589	100.0	2.5
White	434,750	85.5	433,097	83.0	-0.4
Black	60,703	11.9	78,871	15.1	30.0
Hispanic	8,848	1.7	8,467	1.6	-4.3
Lansing	424,271	100.0	471,565	100.0	11.1
White	361,455	85.2	431,791	91.6	19.5
Black	14,697	3.5	25,080	5.3	70.6
Hispanic	10,086	2.4	14,073	3.0	39.5
Kalamazoo	257,723	100.0	279,192	100.0	8.3
White	190,997	74.1	252,471	90.4	32.2
Black	13,917	5.4	20,887	7.5	50.1
Hispanic	2,565	1.0	4,104	1.5	60.0
Saginaw	219,743	100.0	228,059	100.0	3.8
White	192,386	87.6	182,472	80.0	-5.2
Black	26,840	12.2	35,841	15.7	33.5
Hispanic	8,962	4.1	12,356	5.4	37.9

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1970, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Origin (PC(2)-1C); and 1980 Census of Population and Housing, Advance Reports, United States Summary (PHC80-V-1).

Table 5

Hispanic Population by Spanish Origin Group for State of Michigan and Selected Counties, 1980

Area	% Mexican	% Puerto Rican	% Cuban	% Other Spanish
State of Michigan	69.1%	7.6%	2.6%	20.7%
Wayne	64.4	10.8	2.6	22.1
Oakland	56.1	12.0	2.9	29.0
Saginaw	89.1	1.6	0.2	9.1
Ingham	78.3	3.6	2.9	15.2
Kent	60.2	16.8	7.1	15.9
Genesee	77.5	3.6	1.6	17.3
Macomb	50.5	6.7	4.9	38.0
Ottawa	80.8	4.5	3.1	11.5
Lenawee	85.7	4.7	0.2	9.5
Bay	86.6	0.6	0.9	11.9

This predominance of Mexican origin persons in Michigan undoubtedly is due to:

- the longer history (since 1900's) of migration with a resultant cumulative development of Mexican American neighborhoods ("colonias") which continue to attract new people;
- the settling out of Mexican agricultural workers, once part of the annual migrant flows which originated from the Southwestern states, particularly Texas; and
- as a part of a more general flow of labor from the south to the expanding industrial employment opportunities in the auto and auto-related sectors.

Not surprisingly, with the exception of Ottawa County, the current distribution of the Mexican origin population coincides with the presence of auto-related manufacturing or assembly plants.

Puerto Ricans have their highest proportional representation, approaching 17% the total Hispanic population, in Kent County. They comprise 11 and 12% respectively of the Hispanic populations in Wayne and Oakland Counties, reflecting the existence of significant Puerto Rican communities in Detroit and Pontiac. Puerto Ricans are a relatively small proportion (less than 4%) in Saginaw, Ingham, Genesee, and Bay Counties. In terms of absolute numbers, the majority of Puerto Ricans (66%) reside in either Wayne, Oakland, or Kent Counties.

The "other Hispanic" category in Michigan includes two major groups: (1) people of Central and South American heritage, mostly relatively recent immigrants, including substantial numbers of physicians, engineers and other professionals; and (2) people with very long roots in the United States, especially from the older settlements of New Mexico and south Texas, and with ethnic identities that are euphemistically connected to being "Spanish" or "Latin American," reflecting common labels formerly used for Mexican Americans in the southwest. Most of the "other Spanish" in Macomb and Oakland Counties are in the former group; most of those in Saginaw, Ottawa, Lenawee and Bay Counties are in the latter category. The other counties tend to have a mix of "old Spanish" from the southwest and "new Hispanics" from South American countries.

In the counties for which data are reported, the proportion of Cubans exceeds three percent only in Kent, Macomb, and Ottawa. Numerically, 54% of all Cubans in Michigan reside in Wayne, Kent, and Oakland Counties.

In conclusion, Michigan Hispanics are for the most part persons of Mexican origin. Puerto Ricans, despite their relative concentration in four counties, still comprise a relatively small group. Persons of Cuban origin are less concentrated than other Hispanics and represent relatively minute numbers, except in Wayne County. Because of this demographic pattern, the Mexican culture and type of Spanish, and Mexican oriented issues -- e.g., immigration and migrant education, -- tend to be the most visible in the state.

Racial

On the race item asked in the Census, the Michigan Hispanic population generally identifies itself as White. State-wide, 53% of the Michigan Hispanic population responded in that fashion. Michigan Hispanics in Macomb and

Oakland Counties were the most likely to identify as White. Hispanics in Saginaw County were the least likely to do so (See Table 6). More than half of all Hispanics residing in Saginaw identified themselves as "Other". This category is appropriate for mixed race persons and appeals strongly to respondents who do not feel comfortable responding to the traditional racial labels: White, Black, American Indian, and various Asian and Pacific Islander categories.

Table 6

Hispanic Population by Race for State of Michigan and Selected Counties, 1980

Area	Race		
	White	Non-White*	Other
State of Michigan	53.4%	7.5%	39.1%
Wayne	53.5	13.6	33.0
Oakland	64.0	5.9	30.2
Saginaw	36.4	4.3	59.3
Ingham	44.7	4.3	50.9
Kent	47.4	6.6	46.1
Genesee	47.2	10.3	42.5
Macomb	76.0	6.1	17.9
Ottawa	52.8	1.1	46.1
Lenawee	53.3	1.4	45.3
Bay	48.2	2.6	49.2

*Non-White includes Black, American Indian, Asian and Pacific Islander.

These findings are difficult to interpret, but are probably associated with subtle differences in racial self-identification among the various Hispanic subgroups. In addition, socio-economic class and occupational status can

also influence the extent to which Hispanics identify racially. The findings are also likely to be affected by the presence of other ethnic and racial groups and by efforts on the part of Hispanics to identify themselves in a manner that distinguishes them from other populations.

Residence in Ethnic Enclaves

A common stereotype is that most Hispanics reside in ethnic enclaves or barrios. The 1980 Census indicates, however, that the Michigan Hispanic population is dispersed rather than concentrated into a particular section of a community. Only in Wayne and Kent Counties does a significant proportion of the total Hispanic population (17.2% and 17.5%, respectively) reside in census tracts which are 20% or more Hispanic. The majority of urban Hispanics live in census tracts where they comprise a small percentage of the population of that tract. Similarly, only Ottawa and Allegan Counties have areas (enumeration districts) with similar proportions of Hispanics.

Overall, Hispanics are the most dispersed in Genesee, Macomb, and Oakland Counties and the most concentrated in Wayne, Saginaw, Lenawee, and Ottawa Counties. Other counties differ in that Ingham's and Bay's Hispanic population is about equally distributed among the low and higher Hispanic density tracts. Kent County's Hispanic population mostly is dispersed, yet a significant proportion of the population (26%) is found in tracts of 10% or higher Hispanic density.

These findings are important for various reasons. First, they account for the relatively low local visibility of Hispanic populations in Michigan: residence in low Hispanic-density areas. Secondly, only Saginaw and Wayne show evidence of what could be termed an ethnic enclave or barrio of significant size. This may explain why Hispanics who reside in these cities tend to be more visible socially or politically. Thirdly, residential segregation may not be as serious a problem for Michigan Hispanics, except perhaps in Saginaw, as for other racial/ethnic groups. And finally, they highlight the difficulties in targeting the Hispanic population for purposes of research or service delivery. A study, which strives to be statistically representative of the total Michigan Hispanic population, for example, would require sampling a large number of areas in which only a few households are likely to contain Hispanic persons.

Age and Marital Status

Age Distribution

The youthfulness of the Michigan Hispanic population is readily apparent (See Table 7). Statewide, Hispanics are five percentage points higher in the proportion of population under five years of age and eight percentage points higher than the non-Spanish origin population for persons between the ages of five and 17. Conversely, Hispanics are six percentage points below the non-Spanish population in the proportion of persons over 64 years of age.

Hispanic youthfulness, as compared to the non-Hispanic population, is consistent in each of the ten counties. The differences are particularly acute in Ingham County where almost 45% of the Hispanic population is under 17 years of age, compared to 25% of the non-Hispanic population. The proportion of youthful Hispanics (under 17 years of age) is in the 42 to 45% range in all but Wayne County, where the proportion is 39%. By contrast, the proportion of non-Hispanic population of under 17 year olds generally is in the range from 25 to 32%. As one can see, the highest level of the range is 10 percentage points below the lowest range for Hispanics.

Median Age

Data on the median age (that age at which half of the population are older and half are younger) confirm that Michigan Hispanics are a youthful population. (See Table 8). The Hispanic median age ranges from around 20 years of age in the more Mexican counties to almost 23 years of age in Wayne County. The non-Hispanic white medians have a range from almost 26 years of age in Ingham County to 32 years of age in Wayne County. It should be noted that a 12 year difference can be observed from the lowest range for Hispanics to the highest range for non-Hispanics.

The same table also show that, while females generally are older than males, the differentials are smaller among Hispanics. These findings are to be expected in a population with a smaller proportion of elderly persons.

Marital Status

Table 9 shows the effect of the younger age structure of the Hispanic population on the marital status of women. In all cases, the Hispanic female population has a higher proportion of its population in the never married category. The highest proportion of Hispanic women over 14 years of

Table 7

Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Age Distributions for State of Michigan and Selected Counties, 1980

Area	Hispanics			Non-Hispanics		
	% < 5	% 5-17	% > 64	% < 5	% 5-17	% > 64
State of Michigan	12.2%	30.4%	4.0%	7.3%	22.2%	10.0%
Wayne	11.3	28.1	5.3	7.3	21.9	10.6
Oakland	10.8	31.0	3.8	6.6	21.9	8.9
Saginaw	13.0	32.2	4.0	7.7	24.1	9.5
Ingham	13.2	31.6	2.5	6.9	18.5	7.6
Kent	14.4	29.6	3.2	8.0	21.3	10.4
Genesee	13.0	32.2	3.1	7.9	24.0	8.0
Macomb	10.3	29.8	4.1	6.7	23.1	7.7
Ottawa	13.4	32.7	2.5	8.2	23.2	8.9
Lenawee	12.6	32.2	4.3	7.6	22.9	10.5
Bay	14.1	33.2	2.5	7.6	22.5	10.3

age who are single are in Ingham County (38.5%) and the lowest proportions in Kent and Genesee Counties (33.0 %). The proportion of married Hispanics hovers near the 50% level, with a range from a low of 47.4% in Ingham County to a high of 57.4% in Ottawa County. As a result, the proportion of one particularly vulnerable population -- namely, women living without a spouse (e.g., divorced, separated and widowed) -- is, with the exception of Kent County, lower than the equivalent category for non-Hispanics.

Parents in Household

The majority of Hispanics, like their non-Hispanic counterparts, are part of a two-parent family. The proportions, generally speaking, are alike except in Kent County. There the proportion of non-Hispanics in two-parent

Table 8

Median Age of Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Whites by Sex for State of Michigan and Selected Counties, 1980

Area	Hispanics			Non-Hispanic White		
	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes
State of Michigan	21.1	21.5	21.3	28.7	30.8	29.7
Wayne	22.7	23.3	23.0	30.5	33.6	32.0
Oakland	22.1	22.3	22.2	29.8	31.9	30.9
Saginaw	19.6	21.0	20.3	28.6	20.7	29.6
Ingham	19.7	20.2	20.0	25.3	26.6	25.9
Kent	20.4	20.6	20.5	27.7	29.9	28.8
Genesee	20.0	20.1	20.1	27.9	30.0	29.0
Macomb	22.1	23.3	22.7	28.5	30.3	29.4
Ottawa	19.7	19.4	19.6	26.9	28.6	27.8
Lenawee	20.3	20.5	20.4	28.4	31.0	29.7
Bay	19.1	19.2	19.1	28.1	30.1	29.1

families exceeds the Hispanic rate by a significant amount. In three of the counties (Kent, Ingham, and Saginaw), the proportion of Hispanic female-headed families is greater than non-Hispanic female-headed families. Since this type of family situation is one which is correlated with low income, poverty, and problems related to child care, these type of issues may be of disproportionate importance to Hispanic families in these counties.

Housing

Household Density

Hispanic households are larger than non-Hispanic households. Statewide, Hispanic households contain an average (mean) of four persons (3.8 persons per household)

Table 9

Marital Status of Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Women over Age 14 for State of Michigan and Selected Counties, 1980

Area	Hispanics				Non-Hispanics			
	% Never Married	% Now Married	% Widowed	% Separ. or Divorced	% Never Married	% Now Married	% Widowed	% Separ. or Divorced
State of Michigan	30.3%	50.8%	6.5%	12.4%	23.9%	54.7%	11.4%	10.1%
Wayne	30.6	47.6	8.0	13.8	26.2	46.7	13.5	13.7
Oakland	28.7	53.5	6.2	11.6	22.2	58.0	10.4	9.4
Saginaw	30.4	49.2	6.9	13.5	24.4	55.2	11.0	9.4
Ingham	34.8	47.4	4.4	13.5	34.8	45.9	8.5	10.8
Kent	29.8	48.0	6.8	15.3	25.0	54.8	10.8	9.4
Genesee	29.7	50.6	5.4	14.3	23.6	54.0	10.3	12.2
Macomb	28.1	54.9	6.1	10.9	23.1	58.7	10.1	8.2
Ottawa	28.6	57.4	4.4	9.6	22.2	63.6	8.7	5.4
Lenawee	28.2	52.7	5.5	13.6	20.2	60.3	11.6	7.9
Bay	31.9	49.8	5.7	12.5	22.1	58.5	11.7	7.6

compared to three persons (2.9 persons per household). Among the ten counties under study, the average number of persons per household for Hispanics ranges from 3.9 in Ingham County to 3.45 in Wayne County. Non-Hispanic persons per household range from 3.0 in Saginaw County to 2.8 in Wayne, Oakland, and Kent Counties. These findings are not too surprising based on previous data regarding the youthfulness of the Hispanic population.

Hispanic households also are more likely to be family units. Non-Hispanic households are more likely to have elderly persons, living either without children present or alone if widowed. The significance of these findings is in the recognition that Hispanic households are more likely to be collective units rather than individual units.

Household Size

It has been noted widely that Hispanics have larger families than the rest of the population. This pattern holds true for Michigan Hispanics, as can be seen in Table 10. There is complete consistency in the pattern of larger Hispanic households, both at the state level and in each of the selected counties. The largest Hispanic families are be found in the Counties of Lenawee, Ottawa, and Saginaw. As is the case for non-Hispanics, Wayne County is more likely to have households consisting of a single individual.

A comparison of Hispanic and non-Hispanic households by the number of persons in the household demonstrates the fact that larger size families characterize Hispanic households. Concentrating on the proportion of households with six or more members, it is noted that the Hispanic proportions are about 10% higher than the non-Hispanic levels except in Wayne and Macomb. There the Hispanic rate is about 25 points higher than the non-Hispanic rate. While these figures do not allow us to distinguish between nuclear family members and sub-families or non-relatives which comprise these larger households, it is clear that, on the average, Hispanic households are indeed larger.

Household Composition by Tenure

The number of persons in a household varies by whether the living unit is owned or rented. Owner occupied housing on the average is larger than rental occupied housing for both Hispanic and non-Hispanics. The difference between Hispanic and non-Hispanic household size is in the higher level rates for Hispanic households. The range of rental occupied Hispanic households with six or more persons is from 7% in Oakland County to 11 % in Ingham County. For owner occupied Hispanic households, the range is from a low

Table 10

Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Households by Number of Persons in Household for State of Michigan and Selected Counties, 1980

Area	Hispanics				Non-Hispanics			
	1	2	3-4	5+	1	2	3-4	5+
State of Michigan	16.2%	21.8%	36.3%	25.8%	21.1%	30.4%	33.8%	14.6%
Wayne	19.2	22.9	34.9	22.9	24.5	28.5	32.1	14.9
Oakland	16.4	22.7	36.6	24.2	20.2	31.1	35.1	13.7
Saginaw	13.8	17.3	36.5	32.3	19.8	29.0	34.8	16.5
Ingham	14.1	22.1	35.2	28.6	23.7	32.5	32.5	11.3
Kent	15.6	22.2	37.7	24.4	22.0	31.3	32.8	14.0
Genesee	15.6	20.5	37.6	26.3	20.4	28.8	35.6	15.1
Macomb	14.1	23.6	41.9	20.3	17.2	28.5	37.2	16.9
Ottawa	9.5	17.7	36.8	36.0	15.3	30.5	37.1	17.0
Lenawee	10.9	17.2	37.2	34.7	18.7	31.3	35.5	14.6
Bay	15.6	18.8	34.6	30.9	21.2	29.3	34.0	15.4

of 10% in Macomb County to a high of 25% in Ottawa County. Comparable ranges for non-Hispanic rental occupied housing are from 2% in Oakland County to 4.5% in Wayne County and, for owner occupied non-Hispanic households, from 5.3% in Ingham County to 8.2% in Wayne County.

Once again, these figures confirm the larger size of Hispanic households and point to Ingham County as the area where overcrowding in rentals is most likely to be an issue for Hispanics. The data also show that Wayne County overcrowding is a greater issue for non-Hispanics.

The data on median persons and rooms per occupied housing unit illustrate once again the influence upon housing choice by family size. With the exception of Wayne county, Hispanic homes on the average are slightly smaller. In rental housing, dwellings occupied by Hispanics generally tend to be larger than for non-Hispanic households. These figures also indicate that the median number of persons per household is higher for Hispanics in all counties.

Home Ownership

Home ownership tends to be characteristic of a stable population, with tangible evidence of its participation in the economic base of the community.

The majority of Michigan Hispanics are homeowners. Statewide, 59% of Hispanic households own their homes. This proportion ranges from a low of 47% in Ingham County to a high of 66% in Oakland County.

Michigan Hispanic home ownership rates in general are approximately 10 percentage points below the rates for non-Hispanics. One exception to this finding is Kent County, where Hispanic home ownership trails non-Hispanic home ownership by 20 percentage points.

Housing Characteristics

While not all housing built before 1940 can be considered substandard, the location of such housing generally is restricted to inner city areas, where dilapidated and deteriorating housing is more common. Residence in older housing, whether owned or rented, can also explain the differentials in housing value and monthly rental fee. With the exception of Kent County, Hispanics have the highest proportion of housing units built forty or more years ago. The range is rather wide: from 14.3% in Oakland County to 42.7% in Wayne County. These high proportions of older housing, which hover at about the 30% level, suggest a possible explanation as to how Hispanics

manage to pay lower rents but obtain more rooms per housing unit. A similar strategy, to pay less for older housing, also is used by Blacks in Wayne and Kent Counties. Otherwise, their rates are similar to Whites.

Housing lacking heat is more predominant for Blacks' housing units than for housing units occupied by Whites or Hispanics. However, the range between Blacks and Hispanics is relatively similar: 5.7% in Oakland to 14.3 % in Saginaw for Blacks; 4.2% in Genesee to 13.6% in Saginaw for Hispanics. Given the higher incidence of residence by Blacks and Hispanics in older and lower priced housing units, these results are to some degree expected.

Education and Language

Education

The lower educational level of the Hispanic population over the age of 24 is illustrated in Tables 11 and 12. Hispanics by far have the highest proportion of adults who have not finished school. These proportions range from lows of 35.7% and 39.3% in Macomb and Oakland Counties, respectively, 64.5% and 70.6% in Ottawa and Lenawee counties. By contrast, the highest proportion of people with high school or less schooling for Blacks and Whites is 49.3% (in Saginaw) and 35.4% (in Wayne), respectively.

At the other end of the continuum, Whites have the highest proportion of persons with a college degree. Hispanics with a college education or more exceed the proportion of Blacks with a college education in Oakland, Kent, and Wayne Counties. The opposite is true in the remaining counties.

English Language Ability

Language usage data are not yet available disaggregated by Hispanic and non-Hispanic groups. Thus, in using the released 1980 Census data, we have to assume that nearly all of the respondents who said that they speak Spanish in the home are Hispanic. This assumption probably is valid for the 5 to 17 year old age group but less so for the 18 years and over category.

Spanish language usage is most prevalent in Kent and Ingham Counties, less prevalent in Genesee and Oakland Counties, and least prevalent in Saginaw and Wayne Counties. The incidence of bilingualism ranges from a low of 55% in Wayne County to a high of 86% in Kent County. Bilingualism, however, differs from proficiency in English. On this topic, it appears that Kent, Wayne, and Ingham each have significant proportions of non-English speaking Hispanic populations (about 11%). Finally, the number of school-aged

Table 11

School Attainment of Hispanics, Whites, and Blacks over Age 24 for State of Michigan, 1980

School Level	Hispanics		Whites		Blacks	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Elementary .	21,306	32.0%	651,190	14.2%	122,097	20.5%
High School						
1 to 3 years .	12,490	18.7	732,775	16.0	144,963	24.3
4 years .	18,100	27.1	1,793,018	39.2	185,223	31.1
College						
1 to 3 years .	8,305	12.5	715,880	15.6	98,491	16.5
4 or more years .	6,470	9.7	684,163	14.9	45,123	7.6
Total . .	66,671	100.0%	4,577,026	100.0%	595,897	100.0%

children who use Spanish as their primary language, and have little or no proficiency in English, equals 2,248 in the state as a whole with selected county figures as follows:

- Wayne County - 620;
- Oakland County - 216;
- Kent County - 142;
- Genesee County - 132;
- Saginaw County - 105; and
- Ingham County - 97.

Michigan Hispanics thus are still largely bilingual. The level of English language proficiency would appear to be higher than the national levels, or that for comparable groups in the Southwestern states.

Table 12

Proportions of Hispanic, White, and Black Population over Age 24 Who Have Not Completed High School for State of Michigan and Selected Counties, 1980

Area	Hispanics	Whites	Blacks
State of Michigan	50.7%	30.2%	44.8%
Wayne	51.9	35.4	45.4
Oakland	39.3	21.6	35.0
Saginaw	59.1	31.2	49.3
Ingham	49.0	20.9	31.0
Kent	53.9	27.8	46.4
Genesee	54.8	30.4	42.0
Macomb	35.7	30.7	40.6
Ottawa	70.6	30.4	46.2
Lenawee	64.5	31.6	39.5
Bay	57.6	35.4	39.0

Economic Status and Employment

Family Income

Data on family income are consistent with the information on education. In all cases, White family income exceeds Hispanic or Black family income. For example the range of proportions of families earning $50,000 or more per year are from six percent in Saginaw to 16% in Oakland. Comparative figures for Hispanics are 2% in Saginaw to 11% in Kent, and 8% in Oakland. In addition, Hispanics have a higher proportion of families earning $50,000 or more in Oakland, Wayne and Kent Counties, the same ones in which they have more college graduates.

Poverty Levels

Poverty as defined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics predominates among the Black population. (See Table 13). About one quarter of the Black families in Wayne, Kent and Saginaw Counties live below the poverty level. Around two of every 10 Hispanic families live in poverty. Notable exceptions are Oakland and Macomb Counties, where one of every 10 Hispanic families lives in poverty.

These findings, coupled with those on education and income, indicate that Hispanics socioeconomically are best situated in Oakland County; slightly less so in Wayne and Kent County; and least well situated in Ingham, Saginaw, and Genesee Counties.

Recent Employment

In the two weeks prior to the April 1st, 1980 Census date, persons 16 years or older were asked their employment status. From these data we find that Hispanic males were less likely to be employed than non-Hispanic males. Oakland and Kent Counties stand out as two areas where Hispanics only trailed slightly behind their non-Hispanic counterparts. Hispanics trail much further behind in Genesee, Ingham, and Saginaw.

Hispanic women were slightly more likely to be employed if they resided in Oakland and Kent Counties. The were less likely to be employed than their non-Hispanic counterparts in the remaining counties, particularly in Genesee and Ingham Counties. Overall, the differentials between Hispanics and non-Hispanics were narrower for women workers than male workers.

Table 13

Percent of Hispanic, White, and Black Population Below the Poverty Level for State of Michigan and Selected Counties, 1979

Area	Hispanics	Whites	Blacks
State of Michigan	18.7%	7.9%	25.8%
Wayne	18.2	7.3	26.4
Oakland	10.3	4.7	15.9
Saginaw	23.4	7.6	29.1
Ingham	24.9	11.9	22.2
Kent	21.7	7.0	27.2
Genesee	22.7	7.9	22.4
Macomb	9.7	4.4	18.5
Ottawa	19.7	5.5	30.4
Lenawee	19.8	8.1	16.9
Bay	25.4	8.8	26.2

Labor Force Participation

Employment statistics are based on the civilian work force. Thus it is important to review differences among Hispanics, Whites, and Blacks on labor force participation. Table 14 shows that the labor force participation rate of White males generally is the highest. A surprising finding, however, is that Hispanic labor force participation rates exceed the non-Hispanic rates by slight margins in Ingham and Kent Counties.

Black women have the highest rates of labor force participation in the six counties. Hispanic women have their highest rates in Kent County and their lowest levels in Saginaw County. Hispanic males have a different pattern with their highest levels of participation in Oakland and Kent Counties and their lowest rates in Wayne County. Generally speaking, the high rates of labor force

Table 14

Labor Force Participation Rates for Hispanics, Whites, and Blacks over Age 15 by Sex for State of Michigan, April 1980

	Hispanics	Whites	Blacks
All			
Percent Civilians	99.7%	99.8%	99.8%
Percent of Civilians in Labor Force	62.8	62.0	56.7
Percent Unemployed of Labor Force Population	17.4	9.5	21.5
Males			
Percent Civilians	99.5	99.7	99.6
Percent of Civilians in Labor Force	75.2	76.6	64.1
Percent Unemployed of Labor Force Population	18.1	10.1	24.7
Females			
Percent Civilians	99.9	100.0	99.9
Percent of Civilians in Labor Force	50.5	48.5	50.3
Percent Unemployed of Labor Force Population	16.3	8.7	18.1

participation by Hispanics in Oakland and Kent are consistent with prior results on income. The high rates of participation by Hispanic men in Ingham and Saginaw counties can only be attributed to unemployment, which is included as part of the labor force figures.

Unemployment

The unemployment figures cited here are drawn from the 1980 Census. Although the unemployment rates for all populations in the state of Michigan have continued to increase since April, 1980, there is a value in using these figures. They afford the only mechanism for comparing the various racial/ethnic groups at the county level. Tables 15 and 16 display unemployment rates for the week preceding April 1, 1980, for the three population groups and, respectively, for males and females.

In April, 1980, one of every four male Hispanic workers in Ingham, Saginaw and Genesee Counties was unemployed.

Table 15

Unemployment Rates for Hispanic, White and Black Males for State of Michigan and Selected Counties, April 1980

Area	Hispanics	Whites	Blacks
State of Michigan	18.1%	10.1%	24.7%
Wayne	19.7	11.5	26.5
Oakland	12.2	7.5	16.6
Saginaw	25.0	11.8	25.7
Ingham	23.1	8.2	14.5
Kent	13.3	6.2	20.5
Genesee	24.6	12.0	24.1
Macomb	12.0	10.3	22.8
Ottawa	10.3	5.5	21.4
Lenawee	22.5	10.5	34.0
Bay	34.2	14.2	27.7

While the unemployment rates were lower for the remaining three counties, in each case Hispanic males had higher rates of unemployment than non-Hispanic males.

Hispanic females have a similar pattern. Bay County stands out as the area where Hispanic females have suffered the most unemployment. In Oakland and Wayne Counties, where Hispanic unemployment rates trailed the least, Hispanics fared only slightly worse than non-Hispanics.

Breaking the non-Hispanic category into White and Black, it can be discerned that Black unemployment rates were exceedingly higher for Black males in Wayne, Lenawee, and Kent Counties. Hispanic male unemployment is greater than Black unemployment in Ingham, Genesee, and Bay Counties and equal to Black unemployment in Saginaw County. Once Black male unemployment is separated out, the differentials between Hispanic males and White males increase further. In Wayne County, for example, the Hispanic male to non-Hispanic male difference is 3%. Disaggregated, the difference

Table 16: Unemployment Rates for Hispanic, White, and Black Females for State of Michigan and Selected Counties, April 1980

Area	Hispanics	Whites	Blacks
State of Michigan	16.3%	8.7%	18.1%
Wayne	15.6	9.1	18.1
Oakland	10.1	6.5	11.1
Saginaw	21.8	10.4	29.2
Ingham	13.4	5.2	13.9
Kent	12.8	5.8	15.6
Genesee	19.9	11.7	22.0
Macomb	13.4	9.0	18.8
Ottawa	15.7	6.0	14.7
Lenawee	20.3	9.7	18.5
Bay	24.7	11.2	30.8

between Hispanic males and Black males is 7 percentage points lower for Hispanic males (i.e., 26.5% for Blacks versus 19.7% for Hispanics). It is 8 percentage points higher for Hispanic males than White males (i.e., 19.7% for Hispanic males versus 11.5% for White males).

Unemployment Experience during 1979

The April 1980 Census also contained a question on whether unemployment was experienced at all for any period of time during the prior year. This measure of job stability, shown in Table 17, indicates a much higher rate of unemployment among Hispanics as compared to Whites and a slightly lower rate than Blacks. These same figures were compared across the ten counties under study. For Hispanics males the greatest job stability was for residents of Kent and Oakland Counties. The least stable jobs for Hispanic males were those in Ingham and Genesee Counties. Among Hispanic women, job stability was highest in Wayne County and least stable in Kent, Ingham and Saginaw Counties.

Generally, then, Ingham County was the least stable county for Hispanics. Hispanic males were less likely to experience unemployment in Kent for males and Wayne for female workers.

Table 17

Population over Age 15 with Unemployment by Sex for Hispanics, Whites, and Blacks in State of Michigan, 1979

Sex	Hispanic		White		Black	
	Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
Males	13,251	36.3	498,845	22.8	98,898	41.4
Females	9,677	39.3	372,923	24.9	85,183	38.7
Total	22,928	37.5%	871,768	23.7%	184,081	40.1%

Approximately one-third of the Hispanic labor force experienced unemployment in 1979. When one considers that 1979 was a year on the upside of the recession that got worse over the next few years, this figure is of particular concern.

EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING NEEDS OF HISPANICS IN MICHIGAN

Hispanics in Adrian and Lenawee County

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PREFACE

This report is part of a four-volume series on employment and training needs of Hispanics in Michigan. In the areas selected for analysis, the objective is to provide documentation and rationales toward a more informed advocacy agenda.

The complete series consists of separately bound but related reports. Respective volumes and individual reports are:

- Socioeconomic Status
  - Census Analysis
  - Hispanics in Adrian and Lenawee County
  - Hispanics in the Greater Lansing Area
- Statistical Handbook
- Agency Services
  - Education
  - Social Services
  - Labor
- Program Design

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For this report, Carlos H. Arce, Ph.D., Assistant Research Scientist in the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, and Executive Director, National Chicano Council on Higher Education, has served as senior consultant on the project team.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

The history of the Hispanic community in Adrian, Michigan and vicinity is primarily one of migration and settlement toward employment opportunities and of the development of social networks which remain largely on the outer fringes of the mainstream of community life. This community study is based mainly on the few sources of printed information available and on two dozen interviews conducted in the Adrian area during the summer and fall of 1982.

Background -- Arrival and Settlement

As early as the 1920's, Mexican nationals began making annual migrations to the agricultural fields of Lenawee County. They made the long trip north each spring in search of economic opportunities that their impoverished homeland could not provide. By the 1930's, a substantial part of the migrant population came not from Mexico but from Texas. During the Second World War, the Adrian area began to develop industrial enterprises. Many of the Mexican-American workers began to move from the fields to more settled community residency and, subsequently, to better paying jobs in the factories. The physical, linguistic, and social isolation of the Mexican-American community, and their continual stream back and forth between Michigan and South Texas, lent strength to the persistence of the Spanish language and the Mexican-American culture in Adrian. Sunnyside, a Mexican-American neighborhood on the east side, developed and became a familiar place to which new arrivals gravitated.

The Present -- A Community Conflicted

Today, Hispanics make up slightly more than 12% of Adrian's population. The community is a stable one, with approximately three-fifths of all Hispanic householders in Adrian owning their home. Most have now been in the area for 30 or 40 years. They have children, grandchildren, and extensive other kinship networks in schools, churches, businesses, and in other segments of the community. The stability and growth of the Hispanic population in Adrian, however, may now be in question.

By the 1970's, Hispanics had made notable gains in employment and salaries at various industrial plants. They began to achieve modest representation in managerial and white collar positions, and a few Hispanic-owned businesses became competitive. However, with the severe economic downturn in the late 1970's, many of these advances were wiped out. Many of the largest industries presently in the county produce only discretionary purchase goods. This makes the county extremely vulnerable to recessionary periods. In the recent past,

several large manufacturing concerns closed, causing sweeping reductions in force. Unemployment has been compounded in this rural area by the elimination of agricultural labor through mechanization. Small businesses dependent upon Hispanic clientele are suffering severely. There also is some indication that unemployed Hispanics have a lower tendency than unemployed non-Hispanics to avail themselves of public benefits and job services.

Among the major problems reported by our respondents were the decline of voluntary associations, the loss of language and culture, the severity of unemployment and other economic difficulties, shrinkage of the relatively small Hispanic business sector, and an increasing number of Mexican-American families leaving Adrian for the Southwest. The latter is particularly troublesome because frequently it is the younger, more active population which is leaving the Adrian area.

Provision of social services for Hispanics, especially in employment and training, also was cited as a problem area. During the past year, both major agencies which directly served the Hispanic community either have shut down or been sharply curtailed. The scant presence of Hispanic professionals in other agencies was cited as another difficulty. Widespread sentiments in the Hispanic community include dissatisfaction, disaffection, and renewed alienation. There is a tendency to close ranks against the majority society, which is viewed at best as indifferent and at worst as hostile to Hispanic interests.

The Future -- Problems and Prospects

In spite of the problems which beset the county and the state today, Hispanics in Adrian are largely stable and settled in. They express a commitment to the Lenawee County area and to Michigan. Though understandably disgruntled about the constraints that their community faces as a consequence of the recession, they are seeking ways to work with the economic situation and to preserve the roots of their forebears in Lenawee County.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Study conclusions and recommendations cover equal employment opportunity, alternative funding for employment training, long-range county economic planning, increased Hispanic civic and political participation, and Hispanic small business development assistance.

HISPANICS IN ADRIAN AND LENAWEE COUNTY

Introduction

In most of its marked particulars, the story of the Hispanic[1] community in the city of Adrian, Michigan is very similar to the history of Hispanic enclaves throughout the Midwest and Northern United States. Its principal actors are people of Mexican ancestry, who account for 85 percent of the city's Hispanic population. For these Mexican Americans, and for the 6 percent of the Adrian Hispanic community who are Puerto Rican, and the 9 percent who are descendants of other Hispanic nationality groups,[2] it is a story of migration towards employment opportunities, and settlement, and the development of social networks which remained largely on the outer fringes of the mainstream of community life.[3] It is the immigrant experience which has been repeated so often and in so many diverse settings in this nation's history, but with the complications resulting from this particular immigrant group's racial and cultural background.

In the pages which follow, a brief summary of the past and present central features of the Adrian Hispanics' story will be attempted. There are very few sources of empirical information to draw upon in assembling such a summary and, as such, it is of necessity impressionistic. The study is based in large part upon some two dozen interviews which were conducted in the Adrian area over the course of the summer and fall of 1982, and on careful reviews of written materials secured by the authors. What merits or insights this study may have to offer owes much to the respondents who cooperated in those interviews. Following the profile of the community, conclusions and recommendations resulting from this study are given.

Background — Arrival and Settlement

With settlement in the early nineteenth century, Lenawee County and the county seat of Adrian developed as centers for agricultural activity. Rich soils lent themselves well to the flourishing of farms for sugarbeets, tomatoes, corn and other produce. The agricultural bent of the economy created, early on, a steady demand for seasonal farm laborers. As early as the 1920s, Mexican nationals began making annual migrations to the fields and farms of the Adrian region. Traveling in groups generally comprised of their families and friends, the Mexicans made the long trek north each spring in search of the economic opportunities which their more impoverished homeland could not provide. During the 1930s, as growers sought an alternative labor supply to the then unionizing white work force, the Mexican migrant stream from Texas -- and to a lesser extent directly from Mexico --continued and intensified.

When the Second World War broke out, the business and industrial enterprises of the Adrian area turned to the migrants again, to alleviate shortages of native labor and

to staff the burgeoning defense plants. In Adrian, Lenawee County, and nearby communities, new industrial enterprises had secured federal contracts for the production of jeeps and airplanes. The Tejano workers began to move from their seasonal presence in the fields to more settled, permanent residency and to better paying, year-round jobs in the factories.[4] With war-related work readily available, large numbers of the migrants became immigrants, and the Adrian Hispanic community began to settle in to stay.[5]

Prior to World War II, little sustained or in-depth contact occurred between the Mexicans who came to Adrian and its native white population. The Mexican workers in the twenties and thirties were physically, linguistically, and socially apart from the day to day milieu of the community life. They were housed in migrant camps on the farms where they worked. Most of their basic necessities were seen to by the farm owners, so that little interaction with the townspeople was necessary. The Tejanos' native language was different from that of the whites around them, and the continual stream back and forth to South Texas lent strength to the persistence of Spanish as their principal linguistic tool.[6] Because the workers traveled with their own extended networks of kin and co-workers, they brought tight, mutually supportive social relationships with them to Michigan and did not need to look to the townspeople for communality. Had they done so, it is unlikely that they would have made successful inroads into the core community life. Ethnocentrism was strong and clearly delineated in those decades, and whites and Mexicans for the most part, did not mix.

With the movement of the Mexicans into the war factories, more contact between Adrian's brown and white peoples began to take place, but it remained a primarily superficial, commercially-based interaction. The Mexican/Texan workers were recruited for and relegated to the unskilled or semi-skilled, assembly line jobs. They seldom rose up the ranks away from their fellow laborers, and again they brought into the plants with them their own networks of family and countrymen and women.[7] The language barrier still obtained for many of them, and in other respects they continued to live the culture in which they were raised. Many thus remained unfamiliar with and relatively unexposed to Anglo cultural norms and practices. Their living quarters also remained separate, as they were directed by real estate agents toward the poor, east side of town. There developed in the Sunnyside neighborhood, a barrio of their own, which then became a familiar place to which new arrivals gravitated. What part racism may have played in the community's growth as a separate entity is difficult to document, but respondents in this study who grew up in Adrian in the 1940s indicate that, for them at least, it was definitely present and felt.[8] For elementary school children, speaking Spanish was prohibited. Migrant children's Mexican first names routinely were "anglicized" and, as one respondent stated, "They made you know that you were Mexican and that was bad."

Through the forties, fifties, and sixties, social sanctions notwithstanding, there continued to be a demand for the labor the Mexicans provided. The Hispanic community took root and grew in Adrian, Madison Township and other Lenawee County communities. Since the middle forties, it has been the City of Adrian's largest minority. Today, Hispanics make up slightly more than 12 percent of the city's population. The community is a stable one, with approximately three-fifths of

all Hispanic householders in Adrian owning their home. Most have now been in the area for thirty or forty years, and have children, grandchildren, and extensive other kinship networks in schools, churches, businesses, and in other segments of the community. At present, the Hispanics are a relatively young population, with a median age of 20 years for Hispanics in Lenawee County, as compared to a median of 30 years for the county's white population. That it is continuing to grow, and at a faster rate than the white population, is evidenced by the fact that Hispanic families in the county have a mean of 3.9 persons per household, while white households have a mean of 2.8 persons. Labor shortage, however, is no longer a characteristic of the economy in Lenawee County. Too many of the largest industries presently in the county produce only "discretionary" purchase goods -- such as refrigerators, tractor lawn mowers and air conditioners -- and this makes the county extremely vulnerable to recessionary periods. The status of the Hispanic community today is directly and harmfully affected by alterations in the nature of the local economy.

The Present — A Community Conflicted

Since the early arrivals came in the 1920s, the quality of life for Hispanics in Adrian has undergone significant changes. For several decades, the Mexican American community itself created many types of organizations which enhanced its culture and well-being. There were numerous voluntary associations (mutual aid societies, baseball leagues, etc.), along with steadily increasing participation in political party activity. The prosperity of the fifties and sixties, and the affirmative action awareness and civil rights initiatives of the late sixties and the seventies, combined to augment the socioeconomic advancement and integration of the city's Hispanic people. Since the early 1970s, bilingual education programs of a limited, pull-out nature have been in place in the public schools. In the mid-1970s, employment of Hispanics across all sectors of the labor force reached an unprecedented high.[9]

As Hispanics began to achieve modest representation in managerial and white collar positions, and as a few Hispanic-owned businesses began to vie successfully in the city's commercial life, the Hispanic community began to integrate more fully with the majority community. It spread tendrils into previously all, or predominantly, white neighborhoods. These changes toward greater equity for and participation of Hispanics in the socioeconomic life of Adrian, however, were to prove short-lived. Although notable numbers of individual Hispanic workers made tremendous material progress as a result of well paying employment in various industrial plants, the high point for the marginal ascendancy of the collective Hispanic community on the socioeconomic scale was reached in the latter half of the 1970s. By the close of that decade, and in the early part of the 1980s, state and national economic downturns reverberated through Lenawee County. They brought further marginalization of the small, fledgling Hispanic businesses. Even more damaging were the closings of several large manufacturing concerns, which caused sweeping reductions in force across all levels of the business sector. With the virtual elimination of an agricultural labor safety valve, as a result of mechanization and the use of local youth (with correspondingly fewer Hispanics), unemployment has been a severe problem for the Hispanic community.

Of the 15 small Hispanic businesses which were established in the affluent sixties and early seventies, one restaurant and one grocery store are now closed. Remaining

enterprises uniformly report hard times. The owner of one of the Hispanic-owned stores in Adrian states that his sales have declined by about 40 percent in the last several years. He knows of 15 to 20 Mexican families, formerly customers, who had left the Adrian community recently for permanent moves to the Southwest. "About another year" was the maximum he could continue to operate his business at its reduced level. Another respondent, the owner of an Adrian service enterprise, reports that plant closings and layoffs had also hurt her business. People in the area became unwilling to spend money on anything other than essentials "Even those who still have jobs don't know if they will have them tomorrow."

These pessimistic economic assessments were reiterated by all the small business owners interviewed for this study. They were also mirrored in the cutbacks occurring in the area's manufacturing plants. Tecumseh Products, for example, one of the ten largest firms in Lenawee County, laid off 933 workers in 1982, reducing its Hispanic employees by 50 percent. The General Motors Fisher Body plant in Raisin Township, also a large employer in the Adrian area, laid off 571 workers between 1978 and 1982, reducing its total work force by almost half. In all of the individual plants or industrial companies from which information was obtained, reductions of the past two or three years have caused the Hispanic representation in these plants' workforce to decline very severely.[10] This is predictable, given the seniority system and the fact that the largest numbers of Hispanics were employed in the 1960s. In some of the industrial plants, layoffs are now affecting workers with employment dates in the 1950s. In 1970, Lenawee County had an unemployment rate of 7 percent. By 1980, the rate had risen to 13.9 percent, with the two largest job classes of unemployed persons being the machine trades (20 percent of the unemployed), and clerical, sales and service workers (32.9 percent of the unemployed). As Hispanic workers in the labor force are heavily concentrated in these two job categories, this clustering of unemployment is especially severe for that population.

According to a representative of the state of Michigan Department of Civil Rights, in 1982, only one of the 15 largest industries in Lenawee County had Hispanic employees at numbers proportionate to their percentage of the population. In the Adrian office of the state Department of Social Services, as another example, only five persons on the staff in the summer of 1982, were Hispanic and one of these five Hispanic workers was slated for imminent layoff.

With current joblessness rates running well above fifteen percent, and with the clear indications that Hispanic unemployment is often more than double that of white workers', the economic impact for Hispanics is ever greater.[11] Further, there is a reported decrease in the absolute and proportionate number of Hispanics able to collect unemployment benefits. The greater rates of unemployment affect Hispanic women more severely, both in comparison to majority and to Hispanic male workers.[12]

Interviews with staff of the Michigan Employment Security Commission and examinations of MESC printed data point to further difficulties for Hispanic workers, especially those who are unemployed. The placement rate for Hispanics actively registered with the MESC is similar to that of other workers. There is, however, an indication that the numbers of Hispanics registered, and therefore actively looking

for work, is lower than would be expected when their proportionate number in the workforce is considered. With the lower rate of participation for unemployment benefits, this non-registration suggests that Hispanic workers may be more discouraged. Further, as noted earlier and as confirmed anecdotally by at least one industrial corporation manager, this problem may also indicate that some Hispanic workers and their families may be relocating to Texas. There is insufficient data on the extent of this mobility to the south to distinguish experiential qualitative differences between migration to Texas for discouraged non-Hispanic workers from Michigan and "return" to south Texas for Chicanos who may have come to Michigan from there, or who may be Michigan born offspring of Tejanos.

At present, the outlook in the agricultural sector, also a traditional source of employment for Hispanics, is equally grim. A top official in an agency that provides services to migrant workers indicates that 60 percent of the Hispanic farm labor families who came to the Lenawee County area in the summer of 1982 in search of employment returned south to Texas and Florida without finding work. Of those that did find employment in the area, it was reported that many are being displaced. Because of the current depressed market value of produce, many growers, especially the sugarbeet farmers, have gone in recent years to crops of soybeans, corn and other produce which can be harvested mechanically. The tomato farmers in the area also have increased their use of mechanical harvesters, thereby reducing the need for manual laborers. In addition, over the past decade, as local farm owners find themselves unable to compete in the marketplace with the increasing number of multinational agribusiness corporations, Lenawee County has lost about 2,000 working small farms.[13]

In 1982, of the 21,500 persons resident in Lenawee County, 8 percent were receiving Aid to Dependent Children and 15 percent were receiving food stamp benefits. While it is not possible to fully document what portion of these transfer income recipients are Hispanics, clearly the Hispanics in Lenawee County are experiencing economic hardship.[14] An indicator of hardship is residential crowding, and this can be found in statistics on occupancy of county households. Hispanic families, according to the 1980 Census, had an average of 4 persons to 5.9 rooms in owned residences, as compared to an average of 2.7 persons to 6 rooms for white owned residences. A drive through Adrian neighborhoods where significant numbers of Hispanics and southern whites reside testifies to the financial straits affecting both populations. The houses are in deteriorating condition, with especially severe inadequacies in insulation, storm windows, and roofs.

One of the worst problems reported by Hispanics in the Adrian community, and also one of the problems most difficult to document statistically, is the delivery of social services to Hispanics. Substantial cutbacks of social services have affected most poorer groups in Lenawee County, as elsewhere in Michigan. A concern reported by Hispanics has been the manner in which these cutbacks have occurred in the Adrian and Lenawee County communities. Several organizations or agencies which had considerable visibility in the Chicano community have sufferred tremendously in recent years. Some of these have closed down entirely. For example, the Latin American Service Center and the Zapata Center, which existed for several years and which were community controlled non-profit agencies, are no longer in existence and

have dim prospects of being reopened. Another major agency -- SER Jobs for Progress, the local unit of a large national organization in the employment and training field -- closed entirely during the field work for this study. The only remaining community-based agency is under serious staffing constraints. It currently operates with a part-time administrator and two or three staff members. This phenomenon of community-based agency closings is particularly worrisome since most of these agencies were started and have been maintained because of deficiencies in the conventional social services delivery system.[15] Perceived deficiencies have ranged from cultural insensitivity and inadequate Hispanic staffing to outright discrimination and racism. Another aspect of the agency demises is their effect on the grass-roots community's confidence in social services. After several years in which Chicano-controlled agencies provided substantial services, it will be difficult for the traditional agencies to substitute and take up the slack in social services delivery to Hispanics.

The recurrent theme in the interviews conducted for this study was that the Hispanic people are finding it extremely difficult to get by in the 1980s recession. Many families or household heads are leaving Michigan in search of work, confidence in the public service delivery system is low, and it is a "very scary" situation for everyone.

The Future — Problems and Prospects

Problems facing the Hispanic community in the Adrian area are much the same as those facing most communities in Michigan today. The economic drought which has taken innumerable jobs and handicapped or shut down so many businesses has, in Lenawee County as elsewhere, a continuous negative ripple effect. For Hispanics, however, there is an added dimension to the hardships. They are a population which was only beginning to realize some gains in economic stability, occupational equity, and opportunities for advancement and social integration. Because of the economic squeeze, many of the service and employment agencies which were making progress towards increased participation for Hispanics are currently threatened by or have gone under.

The CETA program for the region covering Lenawee County and two adjacent counties provides a telling example of what is happening to the agencies that were slowly but steadily assisting Hispanics into the mainstream.

In the 1979 fiscal year, this agency had an operating budget for the year of $11 million. By 1982, the annual budget had been reduced to a total of $2.8 million. As indicated earlier, two of the four CETA-dependent agencies in the Adrian community -- SER Jobs for Progress and the Community Action Center -- were shut down or sharply curtailed this past summer. The two remaining programs--the City/County CETA office and the VOC-TEC training program--have undergone cutbacks and staff reductions. All of these programs offered important employment training, counseling, and placement services. These programs are especially crucial for the Hispanic population, whose members are primarily located, as workers, in several of the sectors which are undergoing the greatest reductions in labor force; namely, automotive and other skilled industrial workers, clerical, sales and service workers, and agricultural workers.

Perhaps equally important, the sectors employed Hispanic service workers who were actively involved in the Lenawee County Hispanic community. These workers served not only as teachers and counselors for their community, but also as role models and positive examples of Hispanic participation in the larger society. Their presence in such agencies attested visibly to the potential for Hispanics to achieve positions of authority and dignity in the majority society. They were, as well, a nonthreatening, familiar, and understood contact for their Hispanic constituents. Their service roles made it possible for the less integrated members of the community to make contact with and receive assistance from the CETA programs. As a Lenawee County CETA/VOC-TEC official summed it up, the closing of SER has had "a tremendous effect that cannot be measured -- it creates despair for the Sunnyside (Hispanic) neighborhood."

Given these immediate local problems as well as the bleak larger national economic situation, the prognosis for the future of Hispanics in Lenawee County, is not good. Hispanic respondents in Adrian have the impression that their community is one of the first to be "abandoned" in the present economic pinch. They believe that their people are "last hired, first fired," and they strongly resent the loss of the modest gains that were being made. Several respondents also report a resurgence of "anti-Mexican" sentiment in the area. They perceive a new disrespect and harassment of Hispanics by the local police force. They recognize the absence of Hispanics in positions of leadership within the city and county, and believe that, because area Hispanics are a comparatively economically disadvantaged group, white community leaders do not feel a necessity to acknowledge or respond to the Hispanic community's needs.[16]

Prevailing sentiments in the Hispanic community today are disaffection, renewed alienation, and a pulling back and closing ranks against the majority society. This society is viewed at best as indifferent, at worst as hostile to Hispanic interests.[17] Everyone knows of "five or ten families" who recently have migrated out of Adrian and Michigan. Many Hispanics in the community are wondering how long they will be able to "hold out" and stay in the region that has been their home for several decades now. The community is frightened, frustrated and unhappy. It is searching for ways out of the hard times that are uprooting friends and family and throwing everyone's into jeopardy.

There is not, however, complete unanimity among the Hispanics themselves. Inter-generational differences exist, for instance, between many senior members of the community and their middle-aged offspring, some of whom are uninclined or unable to maintain traditional language and customs. Intra-community division on cultural maintenance is not solely one of generation. Political ideology about assimilation often will cut across all age groups. There are continuing drug and delinquency problems among some segments of Hispanic youth, and there is disagreement in the community over how these problems should be handled. Opinions vary regarding the best solutions to other problems which the community must resolve, such as bilingual education and continuation of Hispanic-oriented social service agencies. There are also dissatisfactions with the performance of some Hispanics who have held positions of leadership in the community. Despite these kinds of internal differences, most respondents spontaneously suggest organization

and mobilization of the Hispanic community itself as a first step toward improving the community's status quo and prospects. As a prominent Hispanic agency official who has been an Adrian resident since 1944 expresses it, "The younger generations have to get together and organize like we did in the past. This is the only way we can petition for what rightfully belongs to us as part of the working class element in this country." Several respondents even suggest that some good may result indirectly from the present difficulties, for the cutbacks may cause people to unite, "knuckle down," and struggle together for collective well-being.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

The Hispanic people who live in Adrian today are by and large a permanent feature of the community landscape. In spite of the problems which beset the county and state today, they are settled in and express a commitment to the Lenawee County area and to Michigan. Though understandably disgruntled about the constraints that have hit their community as a consequence of the recession, they are seeking ways to work with the economic situation and to maintain the roots that their forebearers put down in Lenawee County.

A number of possible initiatives for assistance to the Hispanics in Lenawee County were offered by respondents, and arose as a consequence of this study's investigations. If an effort could be mounted on some or all of these recommendations, whatever the ultimate outcome might be, an immediate and very important benefit could be realized. A demonstration would be made to the Hispanic community that the larger society cares about and desires to help them through the present era of fiscal retrenchments.

In summary, the Adrian Hispanic community study yields a picture that is two-sided -- it portrays a population and community that is afflicted by the national economic reverses, and that has, as well, social integration problems dating far back before the present decade. At the same time, it is a population of individuals who have worked hard and contributed much to the community life of which they are a sizeable component, and it is a group determined to pursue resolutions to the problems that have arisen. For all the bitterness and disappointment which this study discovered in the Adrian area Hispanic community, it found as well a resilient vein of hope and determination about the future for Hispanics in southeastern Michigan.

Recommendations

Equal employment opportunity

The state Departments of Labor and Civil Rights should continue vigorously to monitor and pursue equal employment goals for Hispanics in Lenawee County, across both the private and public sectors.

Alternative funding for employment training

The state should seek alternative funding sources and/or programs to sustain and replicate the CETA programs which were eliminated by federal funding

cutbacks and that still available resources be allocated to agencies with sensitivity to the Hispanic community. One possible approach for initiating new service programs along these lines could be to assist business and industrial concerns to develop their own, internal programs for the retraining, retention and recruitment of Hispanic workers.

Long-range county economic planning

A coalition of state labor and industry advisors, with Lenawee County and Adrian government and industry leaders, should be formed in order to develop a long-range economic plan for the county. The principal objective for the coalition would be to explore and make recommendation upon strategies for industrial diversification in the Lenawee County area. While the particular types of new business and investment ventures which might be suitable for the Adrian area would need to be determined from a thorough study of the area's available resources and talents, we would suggest that Lenawee County remains an optimal site for agricultural endeavors, and that new ventures, possibly in the nature of experimental crops and farming projects, could well be developed.

Increased Hispanic civic and political participation

A coalition or committee of Lenawee County and Adrian government leaders, with leaders of the Adrian Hispanic community, should be formed in order to address the needs of the Hispanic community and to devise plans for making fuller use of and better integrating local Hispanic talent into the governance and guidance of the county and city. A coalition of local white and Hispanic leaders could not only result in more equitable representation of Hispanics in the area's administrative bodies, but could also oversee the resolution of important issues for the Hispanic community, such as provision of adult education classes in English, consultation to the bilingual education program, delinquency prevention and treatment programs, and visible and effective means of monitoring the health effects of chemical pollution in Adrian.

Hispanic small business development assistance

The state Department of Labor should produce and intensively distribute a Spanish/English informational brochure on starting, operating and maintaining independently-owned small businesses. This brochure should be a basic, "how-to" handbook for persons who wish to or already have begun small businesses, and it should be designed and written in a style that is easily assimilated by the lay person. For a relatively small community, Adrian already has a fairly large number of Hispanic businesses. The businesses which are in place at present, however, are suffering losses that threaten their continuation. For these enterprises, and for persons who may wish to explore the possibility of generating new ventures, we believe the state should make a concerted effort to provide resources and expertise which would enhance potentials for survival.

Footnotes

[1]The problem of terminology for labeling Hispanics is a pervasive one. In this report, the broad term Hispanics is used to refer to the total population of Spanish and Spanish-American ancestry. Mexican, Mexican American and Chicano are used interchangeably to refer to people of Mexican descent. Where particular distinctions of nativity are needed "Mexican nationals" refers to Mexican born, "Tejanos" to Texas born people of Mexican origin and "Michicanos" to Michigan born people of Mexican descent. In any study of the larger Michigan Hispanic community further recognition of other significant Hispanic groups (Puerto Ricans, Cubans, etc.) is necessary.

[2]Most of the "other Hispanic" people in areas such as Adrian are very likely of long-time Texas roots and can in fact be classified as Mexican Americans. These individuals still maintain the euphemistic "Latin American" and "Spanish" ethnic labels very commonly used before World War II in polite circles in Texas to refer to Mexicans and Mexican Americans.

[3]There are of course substantial numbers of Hispanics who have successfully established or joined social networks that are well integrated into the Adrian community. Similarly, some networks which were transported from Texas communities still remain viable, especially through the mutual support and fictive kinship patterns of many Adrian Mexican Americans.

[4]Prior to permanent settlement, the workers and their families spent much of the winter season in their places of origin in the lower Rio Grande area (Hidalgo, Cameron, Willacy counties) and other parts of South Texas.

[5]During this period Chicanos were not the only ones recruited to the area. A substantial portion of the white population has its origins in migration from a handful of towns in Tennessee and nearby states who migrated to Lenawee County during the war and subsequently remained.

[6]For most of them, the communities of origin in Texas have been virtually all Mexican American and are characterized by indigenous Spanish language maintenance.

[7]The immigrants also included large numbers of unmarried young women who arrived as part of their parents' households.

[8]The dissertation by Rojo (see Appendix B) cites considerable evidence of discrimination experiences by adult Tejanos and Mexicans in their early years in Adrian.

[9]There is a relatively unnoticed impact of educational sector cutbacks which affects the Hispanic community and its employment situation. With decreases in both the school age population and with economic declines in the funding of public schooling, relatively few staff openings have become available in recent years.

Ironically, this reduced level of employment has come at a time when increasing numbers of Hispanics have attained the college education and proper credentials for becoming eligible for teaching positions. Further, the proportion of school age persons who are Hispanic is increasing at a high rate and with this increase there is subsequent need for teachers who are linguistically and culturally skilled for serving such youth. The most recent data indicate that the school population in Adrian is approaching twenty percent Hispanic, every school building in Adrian is at least ten percent Hispanic, and at least three elementary schools are over a fourth Hispanic. In spite of these demographics in enrollment, only three percent of the teachers are Hispanic.

[10] One very knowledgeable respondent suggested that the larger companies and plants have had substantially higher Hispanic representation in their work force because they receive closer scrutiny from the Department of Labor. The pattern of larger Hispanic representation was confirmed by others and by the meager data we were able to secure. It should be noted, however, that only one major plant has had Hispanic workers in numbers proportional to the relative Hispanic population of Lenawee County. Another related concern in this area revolves on inter-county mobility in home-to-work travel. One significant employer in the area is located in Washtenaw County but it draws 20 percent of its workforce from Lenawee County. It was reported that virtually all the Chicano workers in this plant located in Saline live in Adrian and Tecumseh.

[11] In the Spring 1981 MESC Affirmative Action Information Report, the unemployment figures for 1970 were 7.0 percent for whites and 17.3 percent for Spanish Americans, and for 1980 the rates were 14.2 percent for whites and 31.7 percent of Hispanics.

[12] Although Hispanic women's labor force participation in Lenawee County is slightly lower than that of white women (47.5 percent versus 48 percent), the 1980 unemployment rate for Hispanic women in Lenawee County was more than double that of white women (20.3 percent versus 9.7 percent).

[13] Another significant development in the agricultural sector which has been affected by the current economic downturn is the origin of agricultural workers in Lenawee County. Increasing numbers of the Chicano migrants from out of state are from Florida rather than from Texas; this is due to the better economic opportunity apparently available during the winter in Florida compared to Texas. Further, the proportion of local, Michigan-born Chicanos who are seasonally employed in agriculture seems to be on the increase. This is apparently due to the reduced opportunity for other employment and to the termination of unemployment benefits after long periods of lay-off.

[14] Hispanics are actually represented in the AFDC population at a rate slightly higher than in the general population, but the difference is not very significant.

[15] Further, the decisions that resulted in their closing were made by non-Hispanics which further aggravates the problem. The reportedly minimal participation of

Hispanics in attempting to creatively solve these problems has also reduced the slowly developed good will and confidence of Hispanics in the system.

[16] As noted earlier southern whites who arrived in the Lenawee County area about the same time as Tejanos were also economically disadvantaged. However, the racial/ethnic gulf can be more easily bridged by the whites, who once they adopt the local culture and improve their economic condition are indistinguishable from the majority population.

[17] The exceptions to this indifference and hostility are important and notable. Some service providers we interviewed were open, honest and committed to addressing Hispanic needs. Often, these were the very people who expressed the greatest frustration and hopelessness.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Respondents in the Adrian Community Study

James Bennett, Director, Lenawee County Chamber of Commerce

Carol Bowen, District Executive, Jackson Office, Michigan Department of Civil Rights

Anita Cantu, Assistant Coordinator, Siena Heights College Upward Bound Program

Al Connors, Board Member, Michigan Economics for Human Development, Blissfield

Guadalupe De Leon, Adrian resident and community leader

Pedro Flores, Senior Steward, United Auto Workers, Local 1341

Mary Goode, Coordinator, Bilingual Program, Adrian Public Schools

Maria Guerrero, Owner, Sunnyside Cafe

Robert Hays, Adult Education Coordinator, CETA/VOC-TEC

Victor Hernandez, Chairman of the Board, SER

Dennis Hunt, Economic Analyst, Michigan Employment Security Commission

Fred Kiesler, Director, Adrian Office, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

Angel Millet, Board Member, SER, and local businessman

Yolanda Moreno, Owner, Hair Factory Beauty Parlor

Charles Ojeda, Owner, Perry's Grocery

Ernest Pines, Administrator, CETA/VOC-TEC

Robert Robinson, Personnel Director, Tecumseh Products

Joel Rodriguez, Program Manager, CETA/VOC-TEC

Carl Schmidt, President, United Auto Workers, Local 1341

Fermina Solis, Administrative Assistant, SER

Al Stevens, Director, Lenawee County Office, Michigan Employment Security Commission

Rosa Trevino, Director, Blissfield office, Michigan Economics for Human Development

Eloy Vela, Employment and Training Coordinator, Lenawee County Office, Michigan Department of Social Services

Keith Yeutter, Coordinator of CETA Programs, Lenawee County

APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX C

Selected Characteristics of Hispanic Population in Lenawee County from the 1980 U.S. Census

1980 CENSUS (STF1)
SPANISH ORIGIN PROFILE FOR

LENAWEE COUNTY

TOTAL POPULATION 89948 SPANISH ORIGIN POPULATION 4573 5.1%

SPANISH ORIGIN POPULATION BY ORIGIN GROUP

MEXICAN	3920	85.7%
PUERTO RICAN	213	4.7%
CUBAN	7	0.2%
OTHER SPANISH	433	9.5%
TOTAL	4573	100%

SPANISH ORIGIN POPULATION BY RACE

WHITE	2438	53.3%
BLACK	36	0.8%
INDIAN-ASIAN	27	0.6%
OTHER	2072	45.3%
TOTAL	4573	100%

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUPS

	SPANISH ORIGIN		NON-SPANISH ORIGIN	
UNDER 5	576	12.6%	6531	7.6%
5-17	1472	32.2%	19586	22.9%
18-64	2330	51.0%	50282	58.9%
OVER 64	195	4.3%	8976	10.5%

TENURE OF HOUSEHOLDS

	SPANISH ORIGIN		NON-SPANISH ORIGIN	
RENTER	387	34.1%	6283	21.7%
OWNER	749	65.9%	22625	78.3%

HOUSEHOLD DENSITY (MEAN PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD)

SPANISH ORIGIN	4.03
NON-SPANISH ORIGIN	2.95

1980 CENSUS (STF2)
SPANISH ORIGIN PROFILE FOR

LENAWEE COUNTY

TABLE 1.
General Population Description

	Spanish Origin	% Total
Population	4573	5.1
Families	979	4.1
Households	1136	3.8

TABLE 2.
Spanish Origin vs. Non-Spanish White Population Median Age by Gender

	Spanish Origin		Non-Spanish White	
	N	Median Age	N	Median Age
Males	2284	20.3	40855	28.4
Females	2289	20.5	43237	31.0
TOTAL	4573	20.4	84092	29.7

TABLE 3A.
Spanish Origin Population over Age 14 by Marital Status and Gender

	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Single	445	31.6	406	28.2	851	29.9
Now Married	800	56.8	758	52.7	1558	54.7
Separated	39	2.8	59	4.1	98	3.4
Widowed	28	2.0	79	5.5	107	3.8
Divorced	96	6.8	137	9.5	233	8.2
TOTAL	1408	100%	1439	100%	2847	100%

TABLE 3B.
Non-Spanish Origin Population over Age 14 by Marital Status and Gender

	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Single	7851	25.6	6796	20.2	14647	22.8
Now Married	20265	66.1	20327	60.3	40592	63.1
Separated	340	1.1	506	1.5	846	1.3
Widowed	713	2.3	3917	11.6	4630	7.2
Divorced	1492	4.9	2143	6.4	3635	5.6
TOTAL	30661	100%	33689	100%	64350	100%

(CONT.)

(CONT.)

1980 CENSUS (STF2)
SPANISH ORIGIN PROFILE FOR

LENAWEE COUNTY

TABLE 4.
Spanish Origin vs. Non-Spanish Origin Persons by Type of Relationship of Persons in Household (excludes persons in group quarters)

	Spanish Origin		Non-Spanish Origin	
Married Couple Family	3302	75.1	66540	80.1
Other Family				
Male Head	145	3.3	1613	1.9
Female Head	669	15.2	6863	8.3
Non-Family Household	283	6.4	8029	9.7
TOTAL	4399	100%	83045	100%

TABLE 5A.
Spanish Origin Households by Type and Number of Persons in Household

# Persons	Family	%	Non-Family	%	All	%
One	0	0.0	124	73.0	124	10.9
Two	172	17.6	23	14.6	195	17.2
Three	194	19.8	4	2.5	198	17.4
Four	221	22.6	4	2.5	225	19.8
Five	186	19.0	1	0.6	187	16.5
Six	96	9.8	1	0.6	97	8.5
Seven	58	5.9	0	0.0	58	5.1
Eight	25	2.6	0	0.0	25	2.2
Nine +	27	2.8	0	0.0	27	2.4
TOTAL	979	100%	157	100%	1136	100%

TABLE 5B.
Non-Spanish Origin Households by Type and Number of Persons in Household

# Persons	Family	%	Non-Family	%	All	%
One	0	0.0	5404	87.4	5404	18.7
Two	8426	37.1	621	10.0	9047	31.3
Three	4915	21.6	110	1.8	5025	17.4
Four	5196	22.9	29	0.5	5225	18.1
Five	2558	11.3	9	0.1	2567	8.9
Six	1083	4.8	5	0.1	1088	3.8
Seven	363	1.6	3	0.0	366	1.3
Eight	101	0.4	0	0.0	101	0.3
Nine +	85	0.4	0	0.0	85	0.3
TOTAL	22727	100%	6181	100%	28908	100%

(CONT.)

(CONT.)

1980 CENSUS (STF2)
SPANISH ORIGIN PROFILE FOR

LENAWEE COUNTY

TABLE 6.
Spanish Origin vs. Non-Spanish Origin Population by Tenure
(excludes persons in group quarters)

	Spanish Origin	Non-Spanish Origin
Renter	1299	15215
Owner	3100	67829
TOTAL	4399	83045

TABLE 7A.
Spanish Origin Households by Tenure and Number of Persons in Household

# Persons	Renter	%	Owner	%	All	%
One	62	16.0	62	8.3	124	10.9
Two	75	19.4	120	16.0	195	17.2
Three	85	22.0	113	15.1	198	17.4
Four	75	19.4	150	20.0	225	19.8
Five	44	11.4	143	19.1	187	16.5
Six	23	5.9	74	9.9	97	8.5
Seven	14	3.6	44	5.9	58	5.1
Eight	6	1.6	19	2.5	25	2.2
Nine +	3	0.8	24	3.2	27	2.4
TOTAL	387	100%	749	100%	1136	100%

TABLE 7B.
Non-Spanish Origin Households by Tenure and Number of Persons in Household

# Persons	Renter	%	Owner	%	All	%
One	2093	33.3	3311	14.6	5404	18.7
Two	1781	28.3	7266	32.1	9047	31.3
Three	1031	16.4	3994	17.7	5025	17.4
Four	790	12.6	4435	19.6	5225	18.1
Five	347	5.5	2220	9.8	2567	8.9
Six	159	2.5	929	4.1	1088	3.8
Seven	59	0.9	307	1.4	366	1.3
Eight	13	0.2	88	0.4	101	0.3
Nine +	10	0.2	75	0.3	85	0.3
TOTAL	6283	100%	22625	100%	28908	100%

(CONT.)

(CONT.)

1980 CENSUS (STF2)
SPANISH ORIGIN PROFILE FOR

LENAWEE COUNTY

TABLE 8.
Spanish Origin vs. Non-Spanish White Population--Median Persons and Rooms per Occupied Housing Unit by Tenure

	Spanish Origin		Non-Spanish White	
	Persons	Rooms	Persons	Rooms
Owner	4.0	5.9	2.7	6.0
Renter	3.2	4.4	2.1	4.4
TOTAL	3.7	5.4	2.5	5.8

TABLE 9.
Spanish Origin vs. Non-Spanish Origin Households--Median Value or Rent of Occupied Housing Units

	Spanish Origin	Non-Spanish Origin
Owner-occupied		
Median value in dollars		
Non-Condominium	26700	37100
Condominium	0	45800
Renter-occupied		
Median rent/month in dollars	178	189

1980 CENSUS (STF3)
SPANISH ORIGIN PROFILE FOR

LENAWEE

TABLE 1.
Spanish Origin Population Subgroups

Mexican	3852	4.3
Puerto Rican	263	0.3
Cuban	2	0.0
Other Spanish	430	0.5
Non-Spanish	85401	94.9
TOTAL	89948	100%

TABLE 2.
Spanish Origin Population by Sex and Age Cohorts

	Males	%	Females	%
Under 5	275	12.3	302	13.0
5-14	552	24.7	561	24.2
15-59	1283	57.5	1310	56.6
60-64	50	2.2	27	1.2
Over 64	72	3.2	115	5.0
TOTAL	2232	100%	2315	100%

TABLE 3.
Total Population by Age and Language Spoken at Home with English Ability

	Age Groups			
Language Spoken/Ability	5-17	%	18 +	%
Only English	19970	95.3	58407	94.4
Spanish/English Well	746	3.6	1980	3.2
Spanish/English Not Well	83	0.4	300	0.5
Other/English Well	140	0.7	1083	1.8
Other/English Not Well	7	0.0	104	0.2
TOTAL	20946	100%	61874	100%

(CONT.)

NOTE: Counts represent sample data inflated to represent the Total Population

(CONT.)

1980 CENSUS (STF3)
SPANISH ORIGIN PROFILE FOR

LENAWEE

TABLE 4A.
Spanish Origin vs. Non-Spanish Origin Population over Age 15
by Sex and Labor Force Status

	Spanish Origin		Non-Spanish Origin	
Civilian Labor Force				
Unemployed	222	16.7	2382	8.0
Employed	766	57.8	20654	69.2
Not in Labor Force	338	25.5	6769	22.7
Armed Forces	0	0.0	23	0.1
TOTAL MALES	1326	100%	29828	100%
Civilian Labor Force				
Unemployed	133	9.7	1546	4.7
Employed	521	37.8	14329	43.5
Not in Labor Force	724	52.5	17039	51.8
Armed Forces	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTAL FEMALES	1378	100%	32914	100%

TABLE 4B.
Labor Force Rates for Population over Age 15 by Sex and Race/Spanish Origin

All	Spanish Origin	Whites	Blacks
Percent Civilians	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent of Civilians in Labor Force	60.7	62.0	62.4
Percent Unemployed of Labor Force Population	21.6	10.2	25.5
Males			
Percent Civilians	100.0	99.9	100.0
Percent of Civilians in Labor Force	74.5	77.5	55.2
Percent Unemployed of Labor Force Population	22.5	10.5	34.0
Females			
Percent Civilians	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent of Civilians in Labor Force	47.5	48.1	69.8
Percent Unemployed of Labor Force Population	20.3	9.7	18.5

(CONT.)

(CONT.)

1980 CENSUS (STF3)
SPANISH ORIGIN PROFILE FOR

LENAWEE

TABLE 5.
Population over Age 24 by School Attainment and Race/Spanish Origin

	Spanish Origin		Whites		Blacks	
Elementary	808	42.3	7320	14.8	48	18.4
High School						
1 to 3 years	424	22.2	8333	16.8	55	21.1
4 years	457	24.0	21508	43.4	86	33.0
College						
1 to 3 years	148	7.8	6429	13.0	49	18.8
4 or more years	71	3.7	5959	12.0	23	8.8
TOTAL	1908	100%	49549	100%	261	100%

TABLE 6.
Families by Family Income and Race/Spanish Origin

	Spanish Origin		Whites		Blacks	
Less than $5,000	111	10.5	1086	4.6	18	13.3
$5,000-$7,499	77	7.3	1152	4.9	13	9.6
$7,500-$9,999	90	8.5	1343	5.7	5	3.7
$10,000-$14,999	149	14.1	3415	14.6	13	9.6
$15,000-$19,999	179	17.0	3887	16.6	37	27.4
$20,000-$24,999	228	21.6	3751	16.0	0	0.0
$25,000-$34,999	148	14.0	5523	23.6	22	16.3
$35,000-$49,999	67	6.3	2381	10.2	27	20.0
$50,000 or more	7	0.7	843	3.6	0	0.0
TOTAL	1056	100%	23381	100%	135	100%

TABLE 7.
Population by 1979 Poverty Status and Race/Spanish Origin

	Spanish Origin		Whites		Blacks	
Above poverty level	3590	80.2	77976	91.9	438	83.1
Below poverty level	888	19.8	6883	8.1	89	16.9
TOTAL	4478	100%	84859	100%	527	100%

(CONT.)

(CONT.)

1980 CENSUS (STF3)
SPANISH ORIGIN PROFILE FOR

LENAWEE

TABLE 8.
Population over Age 15 with Unemployment in 1979 by Sex and Race/Spanish Origin

	Spanish Origin		Whites		Blacks	
	N	Rate	N	Rate	N	Rate
Males	466	47.2	5623	24.1	76	52.8
Females	422	64.5	4524	28.3	74	41.6
TOTAL	888	54.1	10147	25.8	150	46.6

TABLE 9.
Housing Condition Indicators by Race/Spanish Origin

	Spanish Origin	Whites	Blacks
Total Housing Units	1116	29254	210
Percent w/o car	9.0	5.7	7.6
Percent w/o plumbing	1.9	1.6	4.8
Percent with plumbing & built before 1940	38.1	41.7	46.2
Percent with plumbing & lacking heat	14.2	8.5	21.9

EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING NEEDS OF HISPANICS IN MICHIGAN

Hispanics in the Greater Lansing Area

Prepared For:

Michigan Commission on
Spanish Speaking Affairs

Prepared By:

Department of Management and Budget
Office of Management Practices
Gerald W. Williams, Director

Project Team:

Maureen E. Myers, Project Analyst
David N. Milstein, Project Director

October 1983

PREFACE

This report is part of a four-volume series on employment and training needs of Hispanics in Michigan. In the areas selected for analysis, the objective is to provide documentation and rationales toward a more informed advocacy agenda.

The complete series consists of separately bound but related reports. Respective volumes and individual reports are:

- Socioeconomic Status
  - Census Analysis
  - Hispanics in Adrian and Lenawee County
  - Hispanics in the Greater Lansing Area
- Statistical Handbook
- Agency Services
  - Education
  - Social Services
  - Labor
- Program Design

All reports have been produced through a project funded by the Bureau of Employment and Training, Michigan Department of Labor, under a Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) Special Governor's Grant.

The Office of Management Practices has carried out project activities on behalf of, and in cooperation with, the Michigan Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs. Throughout the project an advisory group, chaired by Commissioner Juan Marinez, has furnished guidance on scope and methods, monitored progress, and reviewed successive draft reports.

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APPENDICES

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Scope

To provide a complementary perspective on an urban Hispanic community, the project team and advisory group selected the Greater Lansing area. A larger number of and more detailed interviews were conducted than in the more compact and homogeneous Adrian community. The resulting variety of responses led to a decision that recommendations be reported on as given by respondents.

Method

Project design and field work was done in the summer of 1982. The project team used a specially developed list of topical concerns to identify and select potential interviewees. A total of 42 persons were interviewed, generally in lengthy individual sessions. Most, but not all, were Hispanic. Confidentiality was offered on individual responses.

Interview questions were designed to distinguish between personal experiences, documented knowledge, and general beliefs. As a backdrop to these responses, information on the area also was gathered from sources such as university research publications, Census data, local agency reports, and unpublished materials. Summaries and analyses of these items are presented in the report. An appendix lists and discusses the relatively small number of Hispanic-specific documents on the area economy.

Area Profile

Locale and Population

The Greater Lansing area generally is defined as the Tri-County region (Ingham, Clinton, and Eaton counties). Since 1973, however, the Lansing-East Lansing Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), as a commuting labor market, has been expanded to include Ionia County. By 1980 population size, the SMSA ranks third in the State. Lansing is the fifth largest city in Michigan. During the 1970's, the SMSA population grew around 11%, compared to 4% for the State. In 1980, the SMSA had 471,600 persons. The City of Lansing's share of the area total has fallen since 1970. With diminishing economic opportunities, SMSA population growth in the 20-year period to 2000 is projected at only 12%.

A 1980 Census count of 13,900 Hispanics in the SMSA constitutes 2.9% of the total population. Hispanics are 3.1% of the Tri-Counties' population, and 3.8% in Ingham County. Around three-quarters of Tri-County Hispanics are of Mexican background. In the Ingham County Census, 45% of Spanish origin

persons were under 18 years of age, compared to only 25% among those of non-Spanish origin. For Ingham County and the Tri-County region, Hispanics have the greatest percentage in poverty, and are the least educated minority group.

Labor Market Trends

The economic base of the Greater Lansing area rests on three foundations: the automobile industry, State government, and higher education. This unusual diversity, in comparison to many other northern urban industrial centers, traditionally has provided higher employment stability and growth. During the severe economic downturn of the past several years, however, all of the area's major employers have been affected adversely.

As of 1981, over 75% of the SMSA's Hispanic workers were concentrated in the laborer, operative, or craft categories. Fewer than 4% were in the managerial-professional fields, compared to 14% in the area's general population. Unemployment rates, unprecedentedly high for all groups, were the highest for Hispanics, particularly in Ingham County.

Major Employers

In the Lansing area economy, 90% of manufacturing is in durable goods and, of that, 62% is in automobiles or related equipment. Total employment in 1982 at the local General Motors, Fisher Body, and Oldsmobile plants averaged almost 23,000, with a total payroll of $682 million.

Over the past decade or so, the area's employment expansion has been largely in the retail trade and services fields. In 1981, government employment accounted for approximately 66,000 area jobs. During the 1970's, the government sector generated 40% of the area's job increases. In higher education, Michigan State University recently has employed more than 7,650 persons, of which 109 were Hispanics. Lansing Community College has provided many part-time jobs and full-time employment for around 450 persons.

Interview Responses

Education

In the 1981-82 school year, Hispanic students represented 9.8% of total students in the Lansing School District, 1.6% of the Community College enrollment, and .8% of the enrollment at Michigan State University.

With regard to the Lansing School District, interview responses concentrated heavily on bilingual programs and vocational education. Both programs were given mixed reviews. Many persons expressed strong concerns about Hispanics' low academic attainment levels, and underrepresentation in staffing and policy

making. In adult education programs, Hispanics do appear to be receiving many useful services and have a high participation rate.

At the Community College level, leading concerns included apparent underrepresentation of Hispanic staff, a lack of programs specially targeted to Hispanics, and a perceived overemphasis by Hispanic students on easier and less promising fields of study.

At Michigan State University, since 1975, Hispanic students have shown an increasing tendency to go into technical and business fields. Critical concerns were voiced in areas such as academic attainment, staffing, targeted programs, and outreach efforts.

Private Sector

Most respondents viewed the Hispanic labor force as predominantly blue collar or low-level service-oriented, with most employed in the auto or auto-related commpanies. There were some perceptions that discrimination has played a part in the patterns of Hispanic employment. The relatively few professionals or entrepreneurs were seen as exceptions. Difficulties were cited in operating private businesses. The one area in which independent operations have shown success is in the restaurant field, where nine facilities currently are owned and operated by local Hispanics. Mixed assessment was given on the role of local unions in improving Hispanics' employment status.

Government

The State of Michigan was viewed as the largest employer of Hispanics in the region's public sector. In the field of education, Hispanics appeared to be well represented, even at the upper levels. However, State employment in other fields was seen as concentrated generally in "minority-related" positions or non-professional occupations.

County governments, and the City of Lansing, were seen thus far as providing very limited employment opportunities for Hispanics.

Training Programs

Respondents tended to criticize may aspects of CETA programs. They offered more positive evaluation of various programs (some CETA-funded) conducted by the Cristo Rey Community Center, but felt its resources were inadequate. Other agencies perceived as providing significant employment and training assistance to area Hispanics are Michigan Economics for Human Development, various State programs for migrants, the Michigan Employment Security Commission, the Youth Development Corporation, and the Urban League. The report gives some details on each.

Cultural Maintenance and Community Organizations

The cohesiveness of the Hispanic community, and its formal and informal networking was viewed differently among the respondents. A large number of social, political, and religious groups were mentioned, and there was reasonable consensus around the desirability of coalition building.

Respondent Recommendations

In all interviews, recommendations were sought for improving employment and training conditions in the Greater Lansing area Hispanic community. The majority of recommendations are based on a widely held view that Hispanics are not receiving appropriate services and that programmatic and political innovations are desirable. Some individuals felt that many problems experienced by Hispanics are a result of low socioeconomic status. Others perceived difficulties distinctive to the Hispanic situation. Some recommendations stem from specific educational or occupational knowledge and experience. Many more arise from individual perceptions regarding unmet needs or apparent discrimination. Finally, many responses relate to perceived needs for changes in legislation or in agency services, and in processes for Hispanic community action.

Education

In the public schools, great emphasis was placed on recommendations for improved academic and career counseling. Other priorities are increased hiring of Hispanic and bilingual counselors and teachers, expansion of specially targeted programs, strengthened vocational education, curriculum enhancements, and development of more effective programs to handle drop-out problems.

For the post-secondary level, recommendations tended to be comparable. Particular mention was made, however, of needs in worker retraining and leadership development.

Public Employment

Many comments focused on improving data bases, needs analysis, and existing program resouces for human services delivery and outreach targeted specifically for minorities. Recommendations were given on specific added functions for the MESC. Respondents also suggested ways to strengthen the roles and functioning of community-based organizations. Recommendations for new programs tended to be less focused.

Employment Policies

Respondents offered many recommendations centering on increasing public sector recruitment of Hispanics, and on affirmative action. Parallel programs were

recommended for the private sector, with a special emphasis on the development of quantified goals for hiring and promotion, and corresponding provision of incentives. Enhanced roles for unions were cited, and various programs were emphasized which would encourage involvement of Hispanics in ownership and management of businesses.

Political Response

Recommendations for structural changes include more appointments of Hispanics to various types of boards and commissions. Opinions vary as to the most productive roles for existing, or functions for proposed new, advocacy groups. There was clear consensus, however, that members of the Hispanic community need to be much more active politically. Many specific actions were recommended, ranging from voter registration to organization and coalition building.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Scope

For a complementary perspective on an urban Hispanic community, the project team and advisory group selected the Greater Lansing area. This multi-county region provides a much more diverse picture than the compact and fairly homogeneous settlement in Adrian and vicinity. To assess employment and training conditions for Hispanics in the Greater Lansing area, the project team developed a more detailed interview methodology. In particular, the size and diversity of the Lansing study area necessitated a broader range of interviews. The resulting variety of responses led to a decision that recommendations be reported on as they came from respondents rather than, as in the Adrian study, by means of authors' synthesis.

Method

Project design and field work was done in the summer of 1982. (Mr. Jesse Gonzales, a recommended and knowledgeable member of the local community, assisted materially in these activities.)

The first step was to adapt the list of topical concerns, developed for the Adrian study, to the context of the Lansing community. Employment and training/educational areas were identified, along with social organizations and concerns judged relevant to the study. A number of Hispanic community leaders then were asked to identify Lansing community members who worked within or were experienced in the identified topical areas. The first-run compilation produced a list of 80 individuals, a number deemed unmanageable.

From the 80 person list, the project team conducted a second screening. The aim was to select persons with expertise in the most number of fields, and to limit respondent overlap as much as possible. Another concern was to include interviews with "grassroots" persons as well as community leaders. The project team, with advisory group input, selected 35 individuals to be interviewed. A few of those contacted were not available, due to summer vacation schedules. All areas in the topical list did have at least one representative informant. In total, 42 persons were interviewed, a few in a group setting. The majority of interviewees were Hispanic, predominantly of Mexican origin, with individuals of Puerto Rican and Cuban background included. Non-Hispanic respondents, both black and white, also provided input to the study.

The interview questionnaire was designed to elicit information on perceptions of needs specific to the local Hispanic community, and recommendations pertinent to realistic policy development and effective local service delivery. Its format included questions covering the respondent's general perspectives on area Hispanic employability and keying in on his or her area of expertise. Interviewers attempted, as much as possible, to specify the extent to which respective responses were based on direct personal experience, indirect knowledge, or undocumented beliefs. Participants were offered confidentiality on

individual responses. Therefore, in the text below, all personal identifiers have been removed. The interviewers also requested any available background data or relevant reports. In a number of cases, supporting documentation was provided. Interviews lasted from one to two hours. All were done in person, by one and sometimes two interviewers. Afterward, detailed field notes were recorded, classified, and analyzed. All classifiable responses are cited.

To provide a profile on the socioeconomic setting of the Greater Lansing area and the Hispanic community, the project staff conducted research which covered library sources, Census data, current literature, local agency reports, and unpublished dissertations and other materials. Information on local economic and demographic conditions presented in the following chapter provides a backdrop, and at times a contrast, for the perceptions gathered from the interviews. Specific information on Hispanics in the area economy, it should be noted, proved difficult or impossible to locate. The relatively small number of documented sources of this type is discussed in Appendix A of this report.

In some areas of concern, changes have occurred since the field interviewing and literature research in the last half of 1982. Whenever possible, the analysis has been updated to reflect known changes. Interested readers are urged, however, always to check if later figures exist than those cited in the text and, if so, to determine how they affect the basic pattern depicted.

CHAPTER II
AREA PROFILE

Locale and Population

Lansing, situated in central lower Michigan, is the state's capital. The "Greater Lansing area" generally is defined as the Tri-County region (Ingham, Clinton, and Eaton Counties). Since 1973, however, the Lansing-East Lansing Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), specified in terms of the commuting labor market, has been expanded to include the relatively rural Ionia County. (Since background information for this report has been drawn from differing sources which have employed one or both area units, there is not total continuity in the data base. In specific cases, the area referred to is identified.)

The Lansing-East Lansing SMSA ranks third among the state's metropolitan areas. Lansing is the fifth largest city in Michigan. Over the 1970's, the area's steady population growth, totaling around 11%, far exceeded the 4% attained by the state as a whole. Total population for the SMSA in 1980 was 471,600 (419,750 for the Tri-County region). However, urban Lansing lost population during the decade, with significant growth concentrated in the rural commuting-distance areas. This parallels the statewide pattern of development. Various indicators show the majority of growth coming from natural increase (number of births exceeding deaths) rather than from in-migration.

In the last few years, economic downturns and consequent higher unemployment levels have slowed the area's growth rate. Projections released by the regional planning agency indicate an average growth rate of 4% for the Tri-County area, over consecutive five-year periods, between 1980 and 2000. A national association estimates population increases at around 1% for the three counties, and 12% for the SMSA, over the 20-year period. Total population projected for the year 2000 is around 425,000 for the Tri-County area and 530,000 for the SMSA.

Current population statistics depict the average SMSA resident at a median age of 26.5, with a median household size of 2.9 individuals. The median disposable income per household in 1981 was around $22,000. For the SMSA, the total of 13,900 Hispanics constitutes 2.9% of the population. Hispanics are 3.1% of the Tri-Counties' population, and 3.8% of Ingham County. In the the Tri-County area, approximately three-quarters of this group are of Mexican descent. Racially, around 40% describe themselves as "white", and 50% as "other." (For remarks on this phenomenon, see the project report on the 1980 Census Analysis.) The population is divided almost evenly between 50% male and 50% female.

As is evident in statewide statistics, the Hispanic population of the area tends to be much younger than the non-Hispanic. In Ingham County, 45% of Spanish origin persons are under 18 years of age, while only 25% of non-

Spanish origin fall in that group. The median age is 20 years for Hispanics, 25 for non-Hispanics. Because of the high number of young dependents, the higher density of Hispanics per household (3.9 versus 2.86) is not surprising. Another characteristic of Ingham County's Hispanics is their higher propensity to be homeowners (53%, versus 41% for non-Hispanic). As shown by Census tract data, Hispanics do not exhibit great locational concentration. Even using the city of Lansing as a base, only 11% live in census tracts which are 20% or more Hispanic. The population appears to be equally distributed among low and higher Hispanic density tracts. Hispanic homes in the county have a median value of $28,900, quite a bit lower than those for non-Spanish origin households at $40,400. Hispanics also have more people in fewer rooms (a median of 4 people per 5.8 rooms). Similarly, Hispanic renters pay lower average monthly rents.

1980 Census data indicates that, for Ingham County as well as the Tri-County region, Hispanics have the greatest proportion under the poverty line compared to whites or blacks. In Ingham County, where an average of 16% are under the federal poverty income level, 25% fall into the underprivileged category, as compared to 12% of whites and 22% of blacks. The large percentage of Hispanics living below the poverty standard has more than doubled since 1969, when around 10% in the SMSA fell into the impoverished classification. Hispanic families also have a higher tendency to be female-headed, a condition correlated with poverty status. This group also fares worst comparatively in the area of educational attainment. Of the Ingham County population over age 24, 32% of Hispanics have an 8th grade education or less. The figures are 9% and 14% respectively for whites and blacks. Almost 50% of Ingham County Hispanics under 25 have not completed high school, versus 52% for whites and 30% for blacks. Similarly, only 15% have 4 or more years of college, compared to 22% and 19% respectively for whites and blacks. Income levels for Hispanics parallel those for blacks, with a median range of $15,000 to $20,000 per family, while the median range for whites is between $20,000 and $25,000.

Labor Market Trends

Employment

The economic base of the Greater Lansing Area rests upon three foundations: the automobile industry, state government, and higher education. Manufacturing employment fits the patterns of other large urban-industrial areas in Michigan. At the same time, the area displays unique labor force and economic features because it also contains the seat of State government and a major university.

In May 1982, of approximately 186,000 wage and salary jobs in the SMSA, 45% were in non-manufacturing industries; 36% in government; and 19% in manufacturing. From 1970 to 1980, non-manufacturing jobs, particularly in the service and retail areas, increased 48%. Government jobs rose by 32%, while manufacturing had a much lower gain of 10%. Between 1979-1981 with the economic downturn, the Lansing labor market lost 1,300 jobs. Compared to other locations in the state such as Flint, which is even more dependent upon

the health of the automotive trade, Lansing's major industries have performed relatively well.

Prospects in the 1980's for these three "mature" industries are for limited job growth. Labor analysts have described the areas of auto manufacturing, government, and higher education as having peaked in their employment potential. Employment levels declined during the mid-70's but have remained fairly stable. This declining trend has been amplified in the current decade by advancing technology and restricted budgets in government and higher education.

The area's labor market composition shows a heavy concentration in white collar and service industry employment compared to the rest of Michigan. Of all the metropolitan regions in Michigan, the Lansing SMSA has the smallest proportion of jobs in the manufacturing field.

A significant change in the labor force occurred over the past decade, with a large influx of women, minorities, and youth seeking jobs. According to the 1980 census, the area's civilian labor force of 256,890 is 95% white, 3.5% black, 1.8% Hispanic, and .6% "other".

Of the total work force, 38.2% are females, above the state average of 36%. Partially responsible for this trend was a greater availability of jobs in traditionally "female" occupations, particularly professional and clerical positions associated with the area's three major employers. While the number of younger workers has increased, so has the educational level of the older work force. In the area, 63% of those over 25 were high school completers, compared to 53% for the state. In 1978, at least 34% of the labor force had one year of college. Another factor influencing the labor pool available has been the area high schools' popular vocational education programs, which have the most completers in the clerical, construction, mechanic, and metal-working crafts.

Labor Force Participation

In the Tri-Counties, as in Ingham County, Hispanics have a slightly higher tendency then non-Hispanic whites to be in the labor force. Approximately 65% of this group is employed or seeking jobs. This higher participation rate may in some part be attributable to the younger age of this group. As with the population as a whole, Hispanic men participate in the work force at a higher frequency than women, (76% versus 55% for those over 15 years). Hispanics comprise 2.6% of the total labor market in the Tri-County region and 3% in Ingham County.

From a federal EEOC report released in 1981, occupational distribution of the SMSA's Hispanic population can be estimated. As of 1979, the majority of Hispanic workers fall within the laborer category (34%), operatives (33%), craft workers (10.6%). The total SMSA work force is less concentrated in these occupations, with 25% laborer, 23% operatives, and 13% craft workers. The predominance of blue collar occupations has continued despite the technological movement away from labor-intensive industries. While 14% of total

workers are officials, managers, or professionals, only 3.6% of Hispanics employed in the SMSA fall into this category. (One interview respondent noted a trend toward higher numbers of Hispanic joining the Armed Forces, leaving the local labor market. Documentation for this perception is not available.) With projections into 1985 for white collar positions encompassing over 25% of local employment, Hispanic participation in these areas presumably could accelerate greatly over current rates.

Unemployment

The Lansing area experienced a serious economic drop during 1973-75, along with the rest of the state, due to escalating fuel prices and the repercussions on the auto industry. In 1974, plant closings severely reduced area employment. There also has been an increase in the supply of young workers and women for the shrinking number of jobs requiring minimum qualifications and experience. As more experienced workers lose their jobs, they may seek employment in areas outside their former occupations, thereby, aggravating the oversupply of applicants for those positions.

Unemployment rates in the four-county local labor market (SMSA), as estimated by the Michigan Employment Security Commission (MESC) show, for the past twelve years, a strong cyclical pattern and a possible upward trend.

ANNUAL LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE ESTIMATES
Lansing-East Lansing SMSA

Calendar Year	Labor Force Estimates	Unemployment Rate
1970	177,600	6.5%
1971	183,500	6.4%
1972	190,500	6.2%
1973	194,100	5.0%
1974	197,300	7.7%
1975	209,100	11.5%
1976	211,000	8.5%
1977	219,900	7.7%
1978	225,500	6.4%
1979	233,800	6.7%
1980	236,600	10.4%
1981	245,800	10.8%
1982 (thru 5-30-82)	243,220	13.7%

Over the past decade, the local economy has demonstrated a significant growth trend in numbers of jobs. Generally, the area unemployment rates have been lower than that experienced by the state as a whole. The lower relative unemployment rates are attributable to the large number of jobs in government and higher education. Three other metropolitan areas of the state--Ann Arbor, Grand Rapids, and Kalamazoo--similarly escaped the worst of the 1980-81 recession because of more diversified economic bases. As stringent state budget

levels have tightened government and higher education employment opportunities, this moderating factor has been weakened.

Because the auto-based industries are a major constituent of the regional economy, employment levels are subject to cyclical fluctuations inherent in that trade. Worsening conditions in the auto industry in 1981 and early 1982 adversely impacted other areas of the economy. Unemployment jumped almost 3 percentage points in the first half of 1982 over 1981's average of 10.8%. Of the affected industies, the most severe declines were in construction, finance, and manufacturing. The economy recovered somewhat in late summer, with a recorded 11.9% jobless rate in the Lansing area for September 1982.

Characteristics of Lansing area's unemployed persons can be identified to some degree through Unemployment Insurance (UI) claimants' records. Below is a summary of occupational classifications in which the area's unemployed were concentrated, as of 1979 and 1981. (These figures are taken solely from Job Service applicants for those fiscal years and, therefore, do not represent long-term unemployed who have exhausted their benefits or others who have become discouraged and dropped out of the labor market.)

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF UI CLAIMANTS
Lansing-East Lansing SMSA

	December 1979		December 1981		December 1979-1981 Change	
Occupational Group	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All Occupations	7,243	100.0%	8,132	100.0%	+889	+12.3
Professional, Technical, & Managerial	540	7.5%	898	11.0%	+358	+66.3
Clerical & Sales	825	11.4%	922	11.3%	+ 97	+11.8
Service	427	5.9%	437	5.4%	+ 10	+ 2.3
Farming, Fishery & Forestry	66	0.9%	52	0.6%	- 14	-21.2
Processing	147	2.0%	144	1.8%	- 3	- 2.0
Machine Trades	1,579	21.8%	1,190	14.6%	-389	-24.6
Benchwork	783	10.8%	914	11.2%	+131	+16.7
Structural Work	1,789	24.7%	2,017	24.8%	+228	+12.7
Miscellaneous	1,089	15.0%	1,558	19.2%	+469	+43.1

The most striking feature of the unemployment trends is in the white collar (Professional, Technical, and Managerial) classification, which jumped 66%, and the Miscellaneous category, which increased 43%. However, the majority of the unemployed are still concentrated in blue collar occupations, with construction the most adversely affected. Unemployed in structural work comprised almost one-quarter of the area's total. Since the majority of Hispanic workers are estimated to fall into these occupational groups, they tend to experience higher levels of unemployment.

Unemployment rates in 1970 and 1980, for the total SMSA and for Hispanics, were:

	1970		1980	
	Total	Hispanic	Total	Hispanic
Employment	164,819	2,692	212,031	3,463
Unemployment	9,118	258	24,859	703
Unemp. Percent	5.2%	8.7%	10.5%	16.9%

The pattern of high unemployment rates for Hispanics is even more severe when the data base is narrowed. For 1980 in the Tri-County region, Hispanic unemployment was estimated at 17.9% and, within Ingham County, at 19.2%. (This is compared to 6.9% for whites and 14.2% for blacks.)

Characteristics generally associated with unemployment include low family economic status, heavy reliance on public assistance payments, and (at times) handicapped status. Below is an indication of the number of UI claimants in the area who fell into such categories during Fiscal 1981, by racial/ethnic classification.

CHARACTERICSTICS OF JOB SERVICE APPLICANTS
Lansing-East Lansing SMSA
Fiscal Year 1981

	Total*	Economically Disadvantaged	Welfare Recipients	Handicapped	Veteran Total	Vietnam Veterans
All Races	14,225	8,237	6,566	1,046	2,042	494
	100%	58%	46%	7%	14%	3%
White	11,483	6,175	4,863	849	1,829	425
	100%	54%	42%	7%	16%	4%
Black	1,792	1,352	1,109	131	140	46
	100%	75%	61%	7%	8%	3%
Hispanic	709	531	444	59	63	19
	100%	75%	63%	8%	9%	3%
American Indian	57	41	35	2	7	2
	100%	72%	61%	4%	12%	4%
Asian/Pacific Islands	214	138	115	5	3	2
	100%	65%	54%	2%	1%	1%

*Individuals may fall into more than one category.

Despite the limitations of the data base, a few patterns may be noted. Minority UI claimants, especially blacks and Hispanics, are more likely to be economically disadvantaged and receiving welfare payments than their white counterparts. (Lately, however, the unusually long duration of the economic slump in the state and the area has begun to affect non-minority individuals, who previously had been protected by seniority.)

Another aspect worth mentioning in the local labor market is underemployment and forced part-time workers. Figures are not readily available on the number of persons who, out of necessity, are working at occupations below their training or experience levels. Fiscal Year 1983 estimates for part-time workers (persons who work fewer than 35 hours per week) based on past trends are:

Area	Employed	Part-Time Workers		
		Total	Economic Reasons	Voluntary Reasons
Michigan	3,791,000	764,600	192,600	572,000
		100%	25%	75%
Lansing-E. Lansing SMSA	212,300	47,700	12,500	35,200
		100%	26%	74%

A total of 12,500 individuals in the region unable to find full-time employment, while only around 6% of those employed, does indicate lost productivity, and lost income for the families. The MESC has described those most likely to fall into this category as being minorities, laid off full-time workers, and displaced workers.

Major Employers

Manufacturing

The largest manufacturing employers in the area are involved in or related to the automobile industry. Fisher Body, General Motors Parts Division, and Oldsmobile Division provide the bulk of auto-based employment. Average employment in 1982 was 22,793. Roughly 5,000 of this total was at GM/Fisher Body and around 18,000 at Oldsmobile, with a total payroll of $682 million. Major products of these three plants include automobiles, conveyor systems, service parts, and warehousing.

Some expansion has occurred in the industry, despite declining sales. Construction recently was completed on a $130 million GM diesel engine factory in Delta Township. However, another $100 million expansion project at Fisher Body has been delayed. On November 11, 1982, Oldsmobile closed its forging operations in Lansing, causing the layoff of 300 workers. While Oldsmobile has felt the industry decline, generally it has fared better than the rest of GM. In February of 1982, GM sales fell 35% from the previous year, while Oldsmobile was down 26%. Area auto production in the second quarter of 1982

was down 20% from 1981, and orders for auto equipment dropped 10%. Payrolls also have been limited by contract concessions in a number of automobile-related plants. Results in 1983 appear to indicate a solid sales recovery.

The region's other major auto-related employer is Motor Wheel Corporation, a subsidiary of Goodyear. Employing between 1,400 and 1,600 employees in 1982, the company is the world's largest manufacturer of styled wheels. Motor Wheel, while experiencing declining employment levels, has been conducting a $55 million modernization program. It is committed to maintaining its headquarters in the Lansing area.

After the GMC and Motor Wheel operations, five drop forges in the Lansing vicinity involve the highest numbers employed in manufacturing. Other major employers in the area include 12 manufacturers of plastic products, five glass bottling establishments, and 23 printing firms.

In the Lansing area economy, 90% of manufacturing is in durable goods and, of that, 62% is in automobiles or auto equipment. Because of this strong dependence on the motor vehicle industry and the lack of manufacturing diversity, the area is susceptible to cyclical downturns. During 1973-1975, the whole state experienced a serious economic slump, causing numerous layoffs. It was not until 1978 that manufacturing employment returned to pre-1974 recessionary levels. Between 1979-80, the SMSA lost 6,200 manufacturing jobs. While growth has occurred in some plants, production is not expected foreseeably soon to return to previously experienced peak industry rates. Although lower gasoline prices may aid auto sales in the short run, significant expansion in the region's transportation manufacturing capacity is unlikely.

Construction

In the past several years, due to high interest rates among other recessionary factors, the construction industry has been the hardest hit of the area's trades. In May of 1982, construction work was only 56% of that recorded in the previous May. There have been a few large scale building projects initiated such as the 10-story, One Michigan Avenue office building, renovations planned for the former Knapp's and Penney's buildings, a new state office complex, and a number of facilities erected on the MSU campus. An improved outlook for this industry is dependent on falling borrowing rates, which had reached 16 1/2% in mid-1982, and an overall upswing in the local economy.

Sales, Finance, and Services

Over the last decade, the declining employment growth in manufacturing, in the Tri-County and the SMSA, has been replaced in part by increases in non-manufacturing industries, particularly in the service fields.

Between 1970 and 1981, the major source of regional employment expansion was the private, non-manufacturing sector. This sector exhibited a growth rate of 48%, which created 27,600 additional jobs. The bulk of these jobs were in retail trades and services. The one exception has been in automobile sales.

In the 1970's, there was a large expansion in local shopping malls and further development of the area as a retail distribution center. Further strong growth occurred in finance and real estate. The insurance trade has accelerated, with five companies headquartered in the area. A major growth area was in the health field, paralleling national trends. This has been spurred by an aging population and improved employer insurance benefits. The convention trade also has gained in importance.

Economic setbacks since 1980 are now being felt in these areas. In mid-1982, retail sales were down around 10% from the previous year, with higher inventory to sales ratios ensuing. Hughes and Hatcher, a major national retail outlet, closed its operations in Lansing. The drop in demand has caused a lowering of mid-1982 costs for housing and transportation. The mid-summer 10% federal income tax cut did not spark the projected increase in spending which it had been hoped would assist the retail industry.

A number of State and local governmental incentives have been aimed at stimulating new business activities and generating unsubsidized employment. Public Act 198 of 1974 provides tax breaks for investments in industrial facilities. Agencies such as the Economic Development Corporation of Lansing and the Chamber of Commerce are attempting to attract out-of-state business interests. The EDC issues tax-exempt revenue bonds. By 1982 it had supported 18 major construction projects totaling over $91.7 million. Small businesses are estimated to create 60-70% of all new private sector jobs in the area. The Capital Region Business Corporation has been working to obtain an expanded loan program from the national Small Business Administration.

Agriculture

Farming in the rural portions of the SMSA is fairly diversified, but does not employ a large number of individuals. Leading agricultural products include corn, oats, wheat, soybeans, carrots, onions, lettuce, popcorn, mint, and maple syrup. Dairy and beef products also contribute significantly to agricultural income. In 1980, an estimated 3,900 individuals in the four-county area had employment associated with farming. Over the past decades, however, farming as an occupation has shown a sharp downward trend. The decline has been tempered recently, but area farm employment is still expected to show a 5% drop between 1980-83.

Government

During 1981 and into 1982, government in the Lansing area employed an average of more than 66,000 persons. The 1981 breakdown by level of government was 4% federal, 60% State, and 36% local. While federal employment has remained fairly stable since the 1970's, state and local government hiring grew steadily through 1978. In the 70's the government sector accounted for 40% of job increases. With recent declines in State and federal funds, only partially affected by increases in federal block grants, employment at the state level has been cut back. In 1982, a high number of layoffs occurred when state revenues lagged behind projections. Difficulties over pay concessions between

State employee unions and officials resulted in further labor reductions. At the same time, local government has been able to maintain fairly stable employment.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT
Lansing - East Lansing SMSA
(in 000's)

Yearly Average	Total	Federal	State	Local
1970	50.3	2.3	31.3	16.7
1971	50.8	2.2	31.4	17.2
1972	52.5	2.2	32.0	18.3
1973	53.9	2.4	32.8	18.7
1974	57.4	2.5	34.9	20.0
1975	59.5	2.4	35.9	21.0
1976	60.8	2.9	36.4	21.5
1977	63.5	2.6	38.2	22.7
1978	64.8	2.5	40.3	22.0
1979	66.2	2.7	39.8	23.7
1980	67.4	2.7	40.0	24.7
1981	66.6	2.6	39.7	24.3
1982 (thru June)	66.3	2.6	38.8	24.8

Because of the presence of State government agencies and the Legislature, numerous government-related organizations are situated in or near Lansing. Trade and professional associations, political action organizations, and various lobbying firms have offices in the area.

Higher Education

The Lansing area contains the state's largest university, one of the largest community colleges, a large private law school, and a number of business and technical post-secondary schools.

For many years, Michigan State University underwent continuing growth in enrollment, facilities, and employment. It reached a peak enrollment of 44,940 in 1980. Since then, it has experienced modest declines in enrollment, due to the shrinking number of 18 year-olds in the population, growing tuition costs, lower student financial assistance, and the increasing popularity of less expensive community and junior colleges. Enrollments for fall of 1982 slid to 40,627. In 1981-82, MSU employed a total of 7,653, of which 109 were Hispanics. With tightening State support dollars and the use of early retirement incentives, current employment on the campus appears at best stable.

For the future, MSU's agricultural and scientific staff and facilities are seen as significant resources for attracting diversified industries, especially those geared to "high tech." The University is trying to encourage business to use its research capabilities. Currently, MSU researchers handle

over 28,000 projects annually, including many in high potential fields such as robotics, nuclear physics, computers, and biotechnology. In October 1982, MSU's president met with the local Chamber of Commerce to explain the University's plans for assisting local development of high technology industries, including a high tech exposition in the spring of 1983.

Lansing Community College, with an enrollment of 22,320 in the fall of 1982, has prospered even in the difficult economic climate of the early 1980's. LCC's convenient location, modest tuition, and responsive offerings have attracted students who might otherwise have attended four-year colleges. Older, non-traditional students are attending in greater numbers. Displaced workers are seeking retraining in LCC programs. However, LCC officials foresee a flattening out of enrollment due to rising tuition and declining numbers of high school seniors in the population. The college provides full-time employment for around 450 individuals. Due to its heavy reliance on part-time faculty, LCC is not foreseen as a significant source of career employment opportunities.

Hispanic Settlement

There appears to be extremely little historical information specific to the Hispanic population in the Greater Lansing area. A few references are made to Mexican-Americans and migrant workers in local anthologies and historical documents. What research exists, mainly graduate theses, is cited and discussed in the annotated bibliography to this report (Appendix A).

The first significant influx of Hispanics to the Lansing area occurred around 1917. They came as migrant agricultural laborers, predominantly from South Texas and Mexico. These workers were drawn by the need for cheap field labor in the sugar beet fields and muck farms. A large number of the migrants worked in the Stockbridge area and on northern Ingham and Clinton County farms. At the end of each harvest season, the majority returned to Texas. As opportunities for employment in developing industries grew, greater numbers remained and settled into the Lansing community.

Economic factors critically affected the numbers of Mexican-Americans who removed themselves from the migrant stream. Although farm work was plentiful, wages were low. Sometimes families did not have enough money to return home, so they were forced to remain. A number of families lived in buildings owned by the agricultural companies. Conditions in these old farm buildings were described in a local history text as "mostly a disgrace." Some of these families were "force settled" when they became indebted to the sugar company's store, and had to work off what they owed.

As the area experienced industrial development, many former migrants moved out of farm or rural work into urban factories. In the 1940's, this group began to make their presence felt in the city. On the north side of Lansing, agricultural refining operations attracted sizeable numbers of Hispanics, who settled into the company dwellings. This area has since developed as the focus of the Spanish-speaking urban community. Many individuals were employed

in auto-related industries, such as Oldsmobile and Motor Wheel. Construction firms also provided a major source of income in the Hispanic community. Today these firms still provide a significant proportion of employment for Lansing Hispanics.

With improved post-World War II economic conditions, many Lansing area Hispanic families were able to purchase homes. By 1980, 49% of the area's Spanish origin families owned their own homes. Although the northeast neighborhood continues to be the predominant Hispanic locale, the southern portion of the city is becoming a secondary population center.

CHAPTER III
INTERVIEW RESPONSES

Education

The main educational components of the Greater Lansing area are the Lansing School District, Lansing Community College, and Michigan State University. (The East Lansing School District, and other municipal and rural school districts, also fall within the SMSA and Tri-County boundaries. Limited resources precluded research on these districts.)

Hispanic student numbers and their percentage of the total student populations, for the 1981-82 school year, are:

	No. of Hispanic Students	Hispanic Student %
• Lansing School District	2,379	9.8%
• Lansing Community College	343	1.6%
• Michigan State University	391	.9%

It is not appropriate to compare these numbers and percentages across institutions, because of mandatory attendance requirements of the Lansing School District and the differing recruitment pools of the two post-secondary schools. It is worth noting, however, that the figure for the community college is an underrepresentation of the 3.68% Hispanic population in the tax district from which it recruits. Similarly, the university's Hispanic count falls below the state's 1.75% figure.

Lansing School District (LSD)

- K-12 Programs - The 1981-82 student body of the Lansing School District totaled over 24,000. Racial/ethnic composition of this population was 63% white, 24% black, 10% Hispanic, 2% Asian, and 1% Native American. The total of 2,379 Hispanics, following the general population decline in the school-age group, was down slightly from previous years. Hispanic students are distributed fairly evenly throughout the 12 grades. They comprised 10% of both the elementary and secondary totals. Hispanic children were dispersed geographically among many elementary schools. At 15 of the 41 schools they comprised 12% or more of the totals. In the secondary schools there is more concentration, with the majority of Hispanic students in two junior highs and one high school.

- Bilingual Programs - The District conducts bilingual education programs mandated under State law. Any school district with an enrollment of 20 or more children of limited English speaking ability in a language category must provide such classes. In 1980-81, Lansing identified 2,081 students of limited English speaking ability, and East Lansing schools added an additional 122. For that year, these programs received direct state funding of over $333,000. A $125,000 Federal grant was received

for Spanish-speaking students, and an additional $202,000 for various Arab and Asian groups. Figures supplied by the Lansing School District indicate that, in October of 1982, of 1,946 "potentially eligible" students, 665 were receiving bilingual instruction. Four hundred thirty-four of the 1,253 "potentially eligible" Hispanics are in these programs. Spanish-speaking students constitute over 65% of the Lansing District's bilingual program enrollment. In these programs, tutors are available for different language groups. Classroom career exploration also is provided. Program objectives include encouraging the development of English language skills.

Interview respondents were divided on whether language facility (Spanish/English bilingualism or limited English ability) was a factor in the degree of educational attainment. Most felt that the Lansing area's Hispanic population did possess the rudiments of English language proficiency. Others commented on what they thought were a high number of Hispanics with low ability in both tongues. The groups that especially encounter problems because of predominantly Spanish language use and poor command of English were held to be agricultural migrant laborers and recent Cuban refugees. Migrants' problems were dealt with least effectively, it was felt. Placement in English as a Second Language education classes, with mainly Asian refugees, who have no command of English, was not seen as the best means of improving Hispanic migrants' language abilities. The severe high school dropout rate among Hispanics, which deters improvements in language proficiency, was believed to compound the problem significantly. A government worker also observed that, even if Hispanics did converse in appropriate English, missing were the "same modes of expression and intonations" that facilitate mainstream employment acquisition and advancement.

Attitudes toward the benefits of bilingual education varied. As a mechanism for concentrating resources on a target group, it was valued. It was seen as a demonstration of administrative concern for the Hispanic community. Further, the program was seen as allowing for hiring more Hispanic staff and providing supportive services. Recently, the District has begun to document performance in the program and provide incentives. Students' progress has been publicized, and graduation recognition and award ceremonies have been conducted. A March 1982 report from the State Superintendent of Education documented bilingual students' progress statewide. Factors associated with success of the program included bilingual teachers and teacher aides, and family participation.

Interviewees did express concern over lack of monitoring on maintenance of achievement after program completion. In Lansing, low levels of parent involvement were seen as limiting the success of the program. Also cited as a negative aspect was some students' perceptions of a stigma attached to any different classes. An older person mentioned, for example, that in the past Hispanics frequently were put in "special education" classes because of language problems, a feeling that may have been carried down through the generations.

In general, interviewees were split on their views about the need for targeted programs which separated their children from mainstream classes. Some saw this as intensifying students' conflicts about home culture and identity in the community. Another respondent felt that, instead of being a remedial program, bilingual education should be an "enrichment model." Also voiced was a need for bilingual "transitional" programs from elementary into secondary schools.

- Vocational Education - The School District provides other special classes for bilingual children and those with limited English proficiency. The District also conducts a Bilingual Vocational Education program. Included in the curriculum are a wide range of fields such as auto mechanics, word processing, electronics, and cosmetology. In the 9th grade, students are required to set up individual three-year plans to develop necessary skills for future employment. Enrollments in these classes have more than doubled since 1977. They now encompass around 30% of the high schools' bilingual students. In 1981-82, 83% of these enrollments were Hispanic students.

This program received favorable comments from interview respondents. They commended the daily monitoring of absences and regular progress reports on academic achievement. One interviewee spoke particularly well of Voc-Ed sponsored visitations to MSU conducted for the students. These visits, it was said, provided a useful feeling for university life and helpful information on curricular offerings.

It was also noted that there existed a heavy concentration of Hispanic students in vocational education classes. This was not limited to the bilingual classes. Figures provided by the District indicated that around 40% of all 10-12th graders took part in vocational classes, compared to around 55% of the Hispanic students. Quality of these programs was acknowledged, especially for identifying alternatives. However, implications of these curricular choices aroused concern. Selection of these type of classes admittedly provided readily utilizable skills. At the same time, they were perceived as decreasing the number of Hispanic students pursuing college preparatory programs and limited future occupational choices. Similar concern was voiced by a few persons who saw involvement of Hispanic students in work study and co-op programs as potentially detrimental. While providing experience and fostering work habits, it was claimed that it could tend to keep individuals in these low level positions. Immediate income provided by the positions might be a disincentive to college attendance. Others felt that Voc Ed comes too late for many who, by age 15 or 16, already had lost interest in school offerings. One person also felt that some of these courses were too rigorous.

Many interviewees also offered favorable evaluations of career training offered by the schools. Pre-college visitations, tutorial assistance, work site tours, and career exploration, were cited as positive resources. Whether constructive use was made of these offerings, it was remarked, frequently was dependent on teacher dedication, concern, and

time available. Just as important, noted others, was the initiative and involvement of the students, and particularly encouragement and direction from their homes. All of these elements were admitted by the respondents to be difficult to control, or to devise strategies to improve.

- Attainment Levels - Low educational attainments, and correspondingly low graduation rates, were of widespread concern to both Hispanic and non-Hispanic interviewees. The achieved educational levels of the Hispanics interviewed ranged from secondary school drop-out to Ph.D. holder. One interviewee named two children in his family who failed to graduate from high school. Five mentioned having graduated from the District's schools. Across these differences, all tended to emphasize the critical importance of higher attainments for the next generation.

  In 1970, Spanish heritage individuals in the Lansing SMSA had a median of 9.7 years of education. This was 2.5 years below the total population and lower than for blacks. Comparable figures on median years of education in 1980 have not been available in time for this study, but some general comparisons are possible. As mentioned in the earlier section on local demographics, Ingham County Hispanics over 24 have the highest percentage of "elementary school or less" educational attainment (31.9% for Hispanics, 10.3% whites, 14.0% blacks). Around 49% of the Hispanic population did not complete high school (compared to 23% of whites and 31% of blacks). Whereas in 1970 only 40% of SMSA Hispanics over 24 had completed high school, by 1980, 50.9% had at least a high school degree. Black graduates were up to 68.7% from 42%, and whites reached a 76.8% rate.

  Data collection on drop-outs by racial/ethnic identifiers is a fairly recent practice in the Michigan Department of Education. Initiation of such data gathering began in the 1976-77 school year. In that year, the Lansing School District had a 15.6% drop-out rate for Hispanic students in grades 9-12. While subsequently declining, the 1979-80 Hispanic drop-out rate of 9.6% remained the highest among all groups except American Indians (11.39%). This compares to an overall District rate of 8.0%. Males uniformly displayed higher drop-out numbers. An especially high level was exhibited in the 10th grade, where Hispanic males dropped out at a rate of 17.6%. For Hispanics in public high schools, Lansing figures parallel the statewide trend toward lower dropout rates. Since 1976, the rate has fallen from 12.9% to 10.7%, while the rate for whites has remained a fairly constant 5%. The rate for blacks, conversely, has risen over that four-year period from 11.8% to 13.44%. While still over double the drop-out rate for whites, Hispanics no longer had the highest percentage of non-completers.

  A community leader said that the Hispanic drop-out figure had been known to reach 25%. One individual added that, when he taught at one of the high schools, as many as 50% of the Hispanics in a senior class quit school. These two did not provide corraborating data. Disagreement existed over the severity of the drop-out rate. The community viewed the drop-out rate as much higher than officially reported. However, this may

be partly accounted for by the manner of data reporting. While an average yearly drop-out rate of 9.6% is reported, this does not represent the total percentage of one peer age class, since the rate is compounded yearly. In other words, over three years more than 27% of such a class could be lost.

There also were refutations to the comments about low educational attainment. Some school administrators voiced concerns about the accuracy of State agency figures. As an example of potentially skewed data, they pointed out that if a student did not appear on a school roster he or she was considered a drop-out. However, mobility within the district was said to be very high for Hispanics. They could have transferred and been enrolled in another school. Also, they conjectured that many of the real drop-outs did manage high school completion through the District's Adult Education program. To them the retention problem was only temporary. On the other hand, in 1982, Hispanics comprised 10% of re-entry students and 6% of those in Alternative Education Programs, including that at the Cristo Rey Community Center. Since these are fairly small programs, in actual totals they account for only 19 Hispanic students compared to the estimated 74 who dropped out in 1979-80.

A government official cited lack of family support, peer group pressure, and dissatisfaction with school as causes for the high attrition levels. He pointed to the general low economic status of the group as a significant factor. Another source felt that the drop-out rate might not be as high as in other districts. Considering the mitigating factor of low family incomes, he concluded, it was a wonder that the rate was not higher. Four others cited low family support for education as an important cause.

Another person believed there was a perception held by teachers that Hispanic students are expected to fail and drop out. Discrimination was not the reason, said one respondent, but overall neglect was. Many echoed this belief about lack of concern by school staff. Frequent absenteeism also was mentioned as a leading contributor to low academic achievement. Still, they felt that students who had poor attendance records, as well as those with low grades, were not monitored. If an Hispanic student was referred to any authority or to the parent, they said, it tended to be only at a crisis.

A factory worker pointed out that this high drop-out rate aggravated the high unemployment rates. Hispanic students who lack a high school diploma, skills, and experience are not being hired. With so many people out of work, he concluded, employers will hire those who have the most expertise and best job history.

There was no clear consensus on Hispanic students' progress in the classroom. A few felt that, academically, Hispanics are not performing at the levels of other groups. The Michigan Education Assessment Program test, for example, given to 4th and 7th graders and optional for 10th graders, measures verbal and mathematic skills. An Hispanic State official stated

that MEAP scores are lower for Hispanics. The respondent did not provide substantiating data. These scores, while broken down for individual cities, are not reported by racial/ethnic group. In this sense, they are of limited use in measuring special group needs.

That Hispanics do value education was the predominant feeling of all respondents except one. Each considered a high school diploma as the minimum essential vehicle for initial and sustained employability. Finally, concern was expressed that not enough Hispanic high school students were taking advantage of the dual enrollment program with Lansing Community College. Greater participation in this program, they felt, could encourage them to seek still more advanced education after graduation. Another interviewee added that Hispanic students should be encouraged to involve themselves in student activities. Hispanic students need to be made aware of recreational, social and organizational resources. Involvement in these activities was thought often to have a positive impact on retention and graduation levels.

- Staffing - An October 1982 employment count from the Lansing School District indicates that 36 Hispanic teachers were employed, accounting for 2.7% of total teachers. Six Hispanics held administrative positions, which was 6.4% of that classification. Thirty-six (2.7%) were working as paraprofessionals. In all, 176 Hispanics were employed, comprising 4.3% of District employees. The growing proportion of Hispanic students, which are now 10% of the District, has not been matched by a parallel increase in Hispanic staff. According to a 1981-82 racial/ethnic census, District employment patterns show a slightly larger disparity between student body and professional staff ratios than do the statewide figures. While 1.8% of Michigan's K-12 students in public schools were Hispanics, this group constituted .5% of all professional and instructional staff. Comparative figures for the Lansing School District were 9.8% and 3.0%.

  Some Hispanic professionals commented that the LSD had employed a relatively high number of Hispanics. One individual mentioned the advantages of the geographic area in having created this situation. Leadership at the local, state government, and university levels were said to have made special efforts to recruit and hire Hispanics in higher level positions. These sources of Hispanic expertise were seen as having benefitted the District immensely. About 45% of the LSD Hispanic staff were affiliated with the 12-year-old migrant and bilingual programs. Factors perceived as contributing to significant levels of staffing were the Southwestern (Texas) recruitment program and the growing Hispanic student population.

  Despite current severe economic cutbacks, Hispanic staff in the District are relatively immune to layoffs. A clause in its Michigan Education Association union contract shields racial/ethnic minorities from layoffs if staff numbers do not correspond to minority student body counts. A 1981 School District report indicated that no Hispanics had been laid off in the past two school years. In spite of this, total numbers employed have decreased.

Respondents felt that, while the District was increasing the number of Hispanics in principalships, no Hispanic was employed in a policy-making position with the central administration. A key official, however, who is Hispanic, has been a member of the Superintendent's Cabinet, and recently was joined by another.

Interviewees frequently mentioned the lack of Hispanic counselors. Only two were identified. This was seen as an important contributor to the high drop-out rate. Lack of approachable counselors was blamed for low motivational levels. Another cited deficit in staffing was the lack of outreach workers to interact with parents in the Hispanic community. There was mixed reaction to the importance of Hispanic role models for students. A few said that the absence of Hispanic educational professionals could lead to the perception that they are not valued by administrators. Some pointed out that Hispanics who were hired were not always committed to working with Hispanic students. One source spoke of such teachers treating students in a condescending manner.

With the exception of an Hispanic official, no one felt that the School District was meeting affirmative action goals for Hispanics. They explained that there was not ample representation among any of the various minority groups. One person said that, given the current economic situation, affirmative action could be seen as retention of existing staff.

- Adult Education - In 1981-82, the Lansing School District provided adult education courses to almost 3,000 area residents. Eighty percent of the participants were Lansing residents. Classes were taught at 17 locations in the area. Approximately half of those attending were in high school completion programs, and half in adult basic education classes.

  The 387 Hispanic students constituted 13.1% of the 2,957 persons enrolled in Adult Education. Classes which directly serve the Hispanic community, taught at Cristo Rey (North and South), are comparable to regular high school offerings. Included are curricula for General Education Development (GED) certificates, high school completion, and citizenship classes. Employability skills and various vocational education classes are available. English for non-English speakers and testing in Spanish are services provided to Hispanics in the Lansing area.

  The relatively high participation level demonstrated by Hispanics may be related to the large numbers who did not as youths complete the traditional K-12 program. Easy accessibility to classes in Hispanic neighborhoods and the presence of other community members also apparently promotes attendance. Of the 387 June 1982 GED and high school completers, 29 were Hispanics. They account for 7.5% of the graduates.

  The program did not employ any full time Hispanic instructors. In 1981-82, among its 60 certified staff, 22 aides, and 4 advisors, there were three part-time Hispanic advisors and teachers. There was an Hispanic member on the Lansing Adult Education Advisory Council.

Two of the interviewees had received their high school diploma from the program. Both felt that the program was excellent. Another source stated that Adult Education was not meeting the long-term needs of Hispanics. With extended unemployment and exhausted benefits, he claimed that the GED might not be adequate. Many individuals, he thought, would need maintenance income in order to attend classes.

Overall, many interviewees felt the need for students to be aware of their cultural backgrounds. But they did not have knowledge of any particular course that dealt with Hispanic culture or concerns. One person felt that, while such a course might be useful, students were apt to select it rather than a "hard" (e.g., mathematics) class.

- Policy Making - For the past decade, Hispanics have been candidates for the Lansing Board of Education. None has been elected. One individual was appointed to complete a term. Four interviewees felt that having an Hispanic board member would make a difference in program funding, staff recruiting, and responsiveness to Hispanic concerns. Another two foresaw no change in that event.

  An existing body which attempts to influence educational policy is the districtwide Chicano Advisory Committee (CAC). A changing group of parents and educators, this body has been a successful advocate for Hispanic programs, funding, and staffing gains. Two school board members are ex-officio participants. Having this committee, commented one source, is comparable to an Hispanic school board member. Pressure on the Superintendent by the committee, he believed, was responsible for increases in Hispanic staffing in recent years. None of the interviewees discussed participation in any Parent Teacher Organizations (PTO's). A large number, however, had knowledge of the CAC. One person felt that the CAC was experiencing some difficulties in relations with their constituency, because of language use differences. At meetings, it was said, parents communicated in Spanish, while the Hispanic educators used English.

- Discrimination - Four persons gave examples of discrimination experienced by themselves or by their school children. But, for the most part, mention of discrimination was at the global level. The general perspective was, that while Hispanics were not receiving needed services, this was not due to intentional discrimination by Lansing School District policies or personnel.

Lansing Community College (LCC)

- Student Population - In the fall term of 1982, the college enrolled 22,320 students. Hispanic student enrollment at LCC in 1980-81 was 343. This figure represented 1.6% of the total student body of 21,108. It was not possible to identify how many of these students were full-time equated. One government employee cautioned against generalizations from these figures, given the inability to identify how many Hispanic students

were full or part-time. Many part-time students take recreational courses and are not pursuing degrees or advanced job training. The student population at LCC is an underrepresentation of the Community College School district's 3.68% Hispanic population from which the college recruits. In relation to the city's 6.19% Hispanic population at that time, the LCC figure is a substantial shortfall.

- Staffing - Information released by LCC's Personnel Office in 1982 indicated that there were six Hispanics in the full-time workforce of 450. Identified were one counselor and a librarian, as well as two part-time instructors. One of these individuals was a counselor in a program that serves academically deficient students. While many Hispanic students seek out this counselor, the position is not designated as one to specifically serve Hispanic students.

  One worker in a community agency felt that, given the high numbers of Hispanic area residents, these few Hispanic employees could not meet the needs of the student population. He added that even these persons did not sufficiently advocate for more Hispanic staff. No interviewee had knowledge of past or present efforts to recruit more Hispanic staff.

  Those interviewees affiliated with post-secondary education felt that an affirmative action policy was not being enforced at LCC on behalf of Hispanics.

- Curriculum Selection - A high percentage (43%) of Hispanic students surveyed in 1980-81 were enrolled in the Arts & Sciences curriculum. Business accounted for almost a quarter of Hispanics' courses of study. Applied Arts & Sciences was selected by 32%. Overrepresentation in the social sciences was of concern to many individuals. Credit for many courses in this area apparently was not transferrable to four-year institutions. This, they said, limited one's potential for attaining higher degrees. A 1981 survey bears out these perceptions. One government researcher shared an unofficial report that compared Hispanic curriculum enrollment at seven Michigan colleges. This data, which included LCC figures, showed that in 1976 there were no Hispanic graduates in data processing, natural science, or technology at these institutions. Potential new program development at LCC may aid Lansing's unemployed population of Hispanics and non-Hispanics. In late November of 1982, LCC received a $100,000 State grant for high technology economic development, emphasizing job training and retraining. Members of the educational community emphasized that existing institutions, such as LCC, could well serve as delivery agents for new federal training programs. Pointing to the fiscal management problems experienced by community-based organizations in the past, they thought that LCC could offer a ready locus for new programs.

- Attainment - In 1979-80, Hispanics earned 14 of the 1,224 degrees granted at LCC. This represented 1.1% of the degrees earned.

Over three terms in 1980-81, Hispanic students tended to demonstrate average to above-average grades. In 384 of 561 grade reports, Hispanic students scored at 2.00 or above, and 38% at or above 3.0. No such research on academic achievement has been reported for either the Lansing School District or MSU.

One educator believed that, in the specialized skilled trades area, Hispanics suffer high attrition rates. Retention of Hispanic students, especially part-time ones, generally is a critical problem, claimed another interviewee.

- Special Programs - There are no programs specifically for Hispanics at LCC in support services, financial aid, or staffing. Migrant students, if admitted, however, can be considered as district residents for tuition purposes. Attempts to obtain yearly scholarships for at least five Hispanic students were being made through informal contacts with the College's president.

  Low student interest, perceived inability to tranfer credits, and lack of publicity are reasons given by one person for the discontinuance of Hispanic studies courses. There was, at one time, a federally funded Chicano/Native American Program that handled financial aid, support services, counseling, and curriculum. It ceased operations in the mid-1970's.

- Policy Making - Hispanics have been campaigning for seats on the Board of Trustees, but without success. One source felt that an Hispanic board member would not make a difference in raising the level of employment for the group or in establishing an Hispanic support unit.

Michigan State University (MSU)

- Student Population - Hispanic students numbered 391, or .92%, of MSU's 42,094 student body in 1981-82. This represented an 8.69% growth during a time in which the entire University lost 6% of its enrollment. Over the past several years there has been a steady growth in Hispanic enrollment:

Year	Total Students	No. of Hispanic Students	% of Total Enrollment
1978-79	43,744	324	.70%
1979-80	44,756	360	.80%
1980-81	44.940	357	.79%
1981-82	42,094	391	.93%
1982-83	40,627	421	1.04%

From 1977-78 through 1981-82, Hispanics registered a 17.1% growth rate while overall University enrollment fell 10.6% from 46,567 to 42,094. In 1981, 225 new Hispanic students had been admitted but only 34 officially

enrolled. For the fall of 1982, newly admitted Hispanics numbered 150. Total University enrollment continued on a steady decline with 40,627 in the fall of 1982 and 38,921 in the winter term. At the same time, Hispanic student enrollment was up 30, with 421 in the fall of 1982 or 1.04% of the student body.

- Curriculum Selection - In the years since 1975, the distribution of Hispanic student enrollment has undergone a significant transformation. Nine of the University's non-technical colleges and schools enrolled 43.9% of MSU's Hispanics in 1981. In 1975, the figure was 74%. Among the eight technical colleges, the percent of Hispanic enrollment was 43.7% in 1981 versus 19% for 1975. Representation in the College of Business stood at 12.3% of total 1981 Hispanic numbers, as compared to 7.1% in 1975.

Hispanic Undergraduate and Graduate Enrollment in MSU Colleges
1975 and 1981

College	No. of Hispanics in 1981	No. of Hispanics in 1975
Art and Letters	21	21
Comm. Arts and Sciences	24	9
Education	34	46
Human Ecology	10	3
James Madison	8	1
Justin Morrill	0	3
Social Science	62	46
Urban Development	1	1
Undergrad/UC	10	16
Lifelong Educ./Unclassified	2	0
TOTAL	172	146
% of All Hispanics	44%	74%
Ag. and Nat. Resources	18	7
Lyman Briggs	10	2
Engineering	37	11
Human Medicine	37	0
Nursing	3	0
Veterinary Medicine	11	3
Natural Science -	44	15
Osteopathic Medicine	11	0
TOTAL	171	38
% of All Hispanics	44%	19%
Business	48	14
TOTAL	48	14
% of All Hispanics	12%	7%
TOTAL HISPANICS	391	198

From many of the interviewees, the perception was that Hispanics are still overrepresented in the non-technical curricula. However, if the 1981 technical and business enrollments are combined, we find the two areas outdistancing the non-technical by 56% to 44%.

- Attainment - In 1977 Hispanics obtained 97, or .93%, of 10,418 degrees earned at MSU. A 32.9% decline in degrees earned by Hispanics occurred over the succeeding four-year period, while MSU experienced a .5% decline in degrees awarded. Hispanics earned 65 baccalaureate and graduate degrees during the 1980-81 school year. This figure represents .62% of 10,363 total degrees awarded. Degrees in the non-technical area accounted for 44.6% of Hispanic totals in 1981. Hispanics receiving technical degrees accounted for 24.6% of the total. Business/labor credentials went to 12.3%. Medical degrees (MD, OD, DVM) went to 2% of the Hispanic graduates.

  While the trend shows Hispanic enrollments moving toward the scientific and business areas, achieved degree categories do not yet reflect the shift. Also, the University does not appear to be retaining Hispanic students well. An Office of Institutional Research first time persistence-rate report shows that Chicanos beginning in 1977 would have remained in school at a 45% rate for the 1981 academic year. The overall student retention rate is 70%.

- Staffing - A 1981 affirmative action report indicated that 32 Hispanics were employed as "Academic Personnel," around half of whom were tenured faculty. As a group they comprised .9% of the category. A larger proportion of the "Non-Academic" staff were Hispanic, with 139 of them accounting for 1.9% of this category. One source identified MSU as one of the largest employers of Hispanics in this area. Still, a state official felt that the level of Hispanic employment was not representative of the population in the State or area. This could be because MSU recruits nationally, statewide, and locally. A third interviewee commented that Hispanics are concentrated in service and clerical positions. This perception was substantiated by available figures indicating that over 40% of MSU Hispanic employees are service/maintenance workers and 20% are in clerical positions.

  Another person commented that there were a number of professional Hispanic employees who were in dead-end positions. Their jobs could be identified as ones performing outreach or liaison functions, mainly with Hispanic constitutencies. Justification was not provided for those perceptions. One person said that Hispanics are not being promoted or recruited to high level positions. It was pointed out by the same source that, in the Administrative-Professional category, no Hispanic had been promoted since 1976.

  A respondent with experience at the University pointed out that, while MSU does not have affirmative action hiring targets for Hispanics, Hispanics are part of the minority pool targeted for special recruitment. The source said that the system tended to respond to political pressure

applied by the most visible and targeted minority groups. Hispanics are neither, he added. The aforementioned affirmative action report tends to contradict these perceptions. Indicated in the report are affirmative action goals for the tenure system and provision of graduate assistantships to Hispanics. Target areas of underutilization are acknowledged. The MSUEA contract at the University contains a bypass provision for affirmative action purposes. However, budgetary cutbacks and reductions in force are named as factors hindering attainment of these goals.

- Targeted Programs - With the exception of the Hispanic Aide Program, a peer counseling unit, there are no Hispanic-specific programs at MSU. However, there are Hispanic staff in the Office of Admissions, Office of the Provost, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, and Financial Aids Office who deal with a large number of Hispanic students. No financial aid programs are available specifically for Hispanics. But at the graduate level, Equal Educational Opportunity Fellowships have been awarded to Hispanics as part of the University's affirmative action initiatives.

  Once a regular part of the College of Urban Development, Hispanic studies courses are no longer offered. The Hispanic student group, CHISPA, is part of the student government and receives an annual budget for student programming. Another Hispanic-oriented activity is "Ondas En Espanol." This WKAR radio offering continues to be the longest running Hispanic public broadcast program in Michigan.

- Outreach - One person asserted that there are not any outreach programs aimed specifically at Hispanics. But there are programs which do reach this target population. The Cooperative Extension Service, for example, has sponsored a leadership training program for Hispanics in Adrian and Charlotte. This three-year-old leadership program has been commended as a model for future community development projects. In coordination with 4-H organizations, funding is being sought for a statewide program of this type. The goals of the pilot program have been to "improve leadership ability, increase confidence and understanding of the Hispanic culture in Michigan ...the power structure of the community, meeting local officials, conducting productive meetings." Conducted over a two month period, the course has minimal tuition for participants.

  The School of Labor and Industrial Relation has conducted a State-funded special project, "Union Minorities and Women Leadership Training," which has an Hispanic component. Classes, unless offered for college credit, are free to the participants. The United Auto Workers and the AFL-CIO have offered support in these activities. The Spanish-speaking component, according to the program brochure, "...has generated a great deal of interest in labor education in a sector traditionally isolated from the mainstream of the trade union movement." Courses aim at community-based program development. The Leadership Development Curriculum awards a Certificate of Achievement upon completion of 120 hours of non-credit instruction. Participation in this program by local Hispanics has been described as low.

In 1976, a study was commissioned by MSU's President Wharton to analyze the role of Michigan State University in addressing problems affecting Chicanos, migrants, and farm laborers. A major conclusion was that the principal barriers to university education for Hispanics were socio-economic rather than discriminatory. It was noted that, in 1971, one out of every two Hispanic students received financial aid, compared to one out of six for the entire student body. However, aid typically was a loan or work arrangement, not a grant. Work/study arrangements were considered potentially counterproductive for a group tending to be "deficient in academic qualifications." This report also documented the aforementioned concentration in "softer," less technical fields, with the lowest levels of future compensation.

Hispanic employment patterns at MSU, at the time of that report, were similar to the current situation described earlier. Spanish-speaking employees tended to be concentrated in labor and clerical positions, and at lower levels of the administrative-professional category. Also detailed were various services which MSU provided to the indigenous and migrant Hispanic populations.

Private Sector Employment

1980 National Census data indicates that almost 65% of the Tri-County area's wage and salary jobs were in the private sector. Racial/ethnic breakdowns were sought from some of the area's largest employers but, while general comments were provided, no specific data was produced. Since detailed census information on 1980 occupational composition of the population was not yet available, assessment of Hispanic employment in the local area must be made indirectly from national surveys, and unemployment statistics. What information was readily available from local agencies generally was in aggregate totals, without racial/ethnic identifiers. A limited amount of data was collected regularly with minority and non-minority information included.

The general perception held by a majority of those interviewed was that the largest employers in the area--i.e., GM, Fisher Body and Oldsmobile--accounted for a high level of Hispanic-held positions. One individual, who worked closely with unions and industrial workers, conjectured that about 2,000 Hispanics in the Lansing area were in labor and operatives classifications. Estimates (though without any documentation) were made that around 500 Hispanics were employed at Oldsmobile in 1982, concentrated in entry and low-level positions. In the area, based on professional interactions, the source believed around 500 Hispanics were in trade unions. At its peak of production, Motor Wheel had 45 Hispanics, of which five reached management/supervisory levels. Most individuals could identify few Hispanics in the professions, outside of the public education sector, or as managers or owners of private enterprises.

One of the few exceptions appeared in the restaurant field. There were nine Mexican restaurants in the Greater Lansing area in 1982 plus a bakery and a tortilla factory. One restaurateur business success was described as based on family resources and personal initiative. This business was able to expand

within standard business practices, and there was no feeling that there had been discrimination. No mention was made of utilization of financial assistance, such as Small Business Administration loans. Perhaps because of the highly competitive nature of the business, a successful entrepreneur rejected the idea that restaurateurs work together or form supportive organizations. Besides eating establishments, other small businesses run by Hispanics included two grocery stores, three curio shops, and a beauty parlor. Problems cited by Hispanics in small business management were high employee turnover rates and inadequate market screening before business ventures are initiated.

Another successful business person, in the skilled trades, was in a minority-run enterprise. The ability to attract affirmative action-based contracts, generally government financed, is a skill (along with quality performance) that created a successful enterprise. This company also offers apprenticeships, including tuition support at the local community college and blueprint reading classes at the work site. Low interest levels by Hispanics and other minority youth in these programs was observed. Additionally, CETA and WIN participants have been placed with this company. Some of these individuals were later given permanent employment though no numbers were provided. Problems were mentioned in working with MEHD/PINTO-sponsored ex-offenders. This came about because many individuals misrepresented their skill levels and therefore required much more training than planned.

No business or trade organization specific to Hispanics could be identified in any interviews as functioning in the area. One respondent was an officer in the Greater Lansing Minority Business Association. The Association included consultants, lawyers, and others with valuable experience in private enterprise. This was perceived as an important resource available for independent Hispanic business people.

One person opined that there had been too much reliance on publicly subsidized employment, inhibiting Hispanics from venturing into different fields. However, others cited private Hispanic enterprises that had failed or were in serious financial or managerial difficulties. Where there once were three Hispanic construction companies, now only one remained. During the interview period, an Hispanic-owned record shop went out of business.

When queried as to possible discriminatory bases for low level positions of Hispanics in the private sector, varied responses were obtained. A number believed that Hispanics were passed over for promotions. A more general allusion was made to a discriminatory environment, rather than individual actions. Subtle prejudice was felt by some, but its existence was seen as difficult to prove. Two others cited a belief that discrimination came into play in obtaining financing for business ventures, though no specific examples were given.

Hispanics are represented to a degree in the media serving the Lansing area. Hispanic programming is provided by MSU's public radio station, WKAR. A local television station and newspaper employ Hispanic reporters. A monthly bilingual newspaper, El Renacimento is published as a cultural and information organ for the community. It has a circulation of around 2,000 in the Lansing

area and 8,000 outstate. This 14-year old newspaper is the only regularly published Hispanic newspaper in the state. In terms of the mainstream media establishments, there was some feeling of "tokenism," or that individuals were hired as a "showcase" minority. Four Hispanics are employed in "visible" positions with local broadcasting stations. Concern was voiced that Hispanics should cover not only Hispanic but mainstream beats. Conversely, involved individuals also believed that the presence of Hispanic staff elicited more coverage of Hispanic news and personalities. Due to retrenchments and low turnover, few opportunities for entrance into this field are available. Another difficulty mentioned was higher educational degrees needed for positions. Compounding this problem were cutbacks in tuition assistance and a sense that Hispanics were more acutely judged on their language ability and writing skills. Upward professional mobility in the media was seen as constrained by this greater consciousness of language use and "overcredentialing" exclusionary practices.

As in the public sector, individuals remarked on the intrinsic difference between holding "mainstream" or "minority" positions. While "minority" positions are not as frequent in the private domain, it was asserted that some individuals have been hired to attract Hispanic clientele or meet affirmative action requirements. While valuing the community support and identification, one respondent commented on the need to be seen as "qualified and competent" apart from being a minority representative. He had not relied on being Hispanic to get a job and encouraged others to seek work on their own merits.

Associated with the industrial sector in the Lansing area is a highly unionized labor force. Mixed opinions were elicited on Hispanic union membership and activity. Perceptions were that, particularly in the past, Hispanics did not receive equitable protection from the unions. Two individuals referred to Hispanics being relegated to more monotonous and arduous positions, referred to as the "taco line." Since there appeared to be an unwillingness or inability of these workers to file grievances, other union members were viewed as having greater chances for advancement.

Also, one person felt that Hispanic participation in union activities was impaired by language and cultural barriers. This led the worker to believe that Hispanic concerns were not adequately addressed. One other problem mentioned was that, because of union rules on job return privileges, Hispanics with seniority were reluctant to enter supervisory positions.

Positive features of union membership also were cited. Unions were claimed to represent all members equally. The brotherhood of the union was purported to override group loyalties. Over the past 10 years, Hispanics have participated in, and been elected to leadership positions in, some of the Lansing locals. One union member felt, however, that gains were only made "when there was trouble."

Several respondents said that the most beneficial service the unions have provided for improving employment of the local community has been through the apprenticeship programs. Apprenticeships in the skilled trades generally consist of three years of probationary work status, including on-the-job

training, and up to 48 credits in skilled trades at Lansing Community College. UAW locals also have sponsored adult education programs and high school completion programs. Unfortunately, due to the declining economy and shrinking industrial base, these opportunities have been sharply curtailed. In one company, only two Hispanics could be identified as apprenticeship participants since 1977. There were no union-sponsored training programs specifically geared towards Hispanic workers.

Beyond restricted numbers of openings caused by lower industry needs, Hispanic workers were perceived to be severely underrepresented in apprenticeships because of seniority and bidding and testing requirements. A cited potential source of support for Hispanic workers was the national Labor Council for Latin American Advancement.

In late December of 1982, Oldsmobile management announced that a training program would be started, within a month, to upgrade at least 36 employees into apprenticeships. When these persons became apprentices, they would be replaced by youth being trained in the schools. The program was planned by Oldsmobile in cooperation with the Lansing and Ingham Intermediate School Districts. This 27-month pilot project covered current and prospective employees. The first group consisted of employees who were unable to pass qualifying examinations for apprenticeships. They were to receive eight hours of instruction weekly in mathematics, drafting, blueprint reading, and other work related subjects. At the same time, 18 high school juniors would be studying similar subjects and participating in summer internships at Oldsmobile. The program was designed specifically to provide training opportunities for disadvantaged, minorities, and women. Each group was designated a one-third share of student openings. Funding was provided through a CETA grant. As entry level positions became available, program graduates would be given special consideration for employment.

Government

The three levels of government providing the most employment opportunities in the region are the State, city, and county. A limited number are employed in federal or regional offices. Of these employers, the State of Michigan represents the highest number of jobs.

State Government

Overall, interviewees felt that State government has been more responsive in hiring Hispanics than the private sector. Hispanics were perceived to be best represented in the field of education, including some at higher levels. Specific departments, respondents felt, had made advances toward affirmative action goals are Civil Rights, Transportation, Management and Budget, and Education. A number of individuals thought that, in these departments, except for Education, Hispanics were concentrated in lower level positions. A 1981 report by the Michigan Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs indicates that Hispanic State workers grew steadily in numbers since 1972. Hispanics had increased their share of the total employed from .5% in 1972 to 1.15% in

1979. At that rate, however, it would take until 1985 for Hispanics to reach the 1.8% statewide utilization rate. (This refers to all State employees, not just those in the Lansing SMSA.) One knowledgeable source pointed to the fact that Hispanics were the only targeted group which had not reached its statewide utilization standard. This was borne out by the Michigan Civil Service 1981-82 "Annual Labor Force Report." This report also indicates that, in 1980-81, for the Lansing SMSA, the 11.1% share of minority state employees fell six percentage points below the accepted utilization standard. A worsening of this shortfall was anticipated by a number of respondents when later figures become available.

Civil Service staff provided this study with a special computer-generated census of state employes in the Tri-County region. As of mid-August 1982, there were 319 Hispanics identified as employed by the State in this area. This compares with the statewide reported total of 860 (or 1.3% of total classified state workers). Hispanics tended to be concentrated in the Social Services, MESC, and migrant-related programs which have been severely affected by layoffs in the recent years. This effect was compounded because large numbers of Hispanics were at the assistance payment worker level, which was the hardest hit by reductions in force. As of May 1982, figures indicated that of 2,831 State employees on layoff, 31 (1.09%) were Hispanics. In total, during FY 1981 there was a reduction of 6,205 State employees.

One respondent felt that, because of empathy with educational and social service problems experienced by their community, Hispanics had gravitated toward these fields. The major concern, voiced by numerous commentators, was the lack of Hispanics in high level positions and the absence of Hispanic appointments to non-classified executive positions. One person asserted that most Hispanics were at entry level, and that there had never been an Hispanic department director or deputy director. There was, in fact, known to be at this time only one Hispanic non-classified employee (or .7% of all such employees). Respondents expressed concerns that a dearth of role models, as well as a lack of input into policy formulation, existed. Another State employee felt that more Hispanics would be brought into the State work force when their cohorts are in the departmental personnel office.

Civil Service testing procedures were described as having been streamlined and improved through the consolidation of results into a "skills file." There was, however, a perception by some that Civil Service testing had little relation to job tasks. And another believed that, for a number of individuals, the process is unduly complicated. One program receiving favorable mention was a series of workshops, coordinated by COSSA and Civil Service, designed to aid Hispanics in different communities around the State to become familiar with the State's hiring system. An individual involved in these workshops depicted a great deal of ignorance existing in those communities about job postings and government employment.

A few Civil Service affirmative action policies may mitigate the extent of layoffs on minorities who frequently have low seniority. A September 1982 federal court decision in eastern Michigan found constitutional a collective

bargaining provision permitting "out-of-line" layoffs to protect affirmative action gains of minorities. Some State employees are in units covered by similar voluntary affirmative action provisions, within certain limits. The Civil Service Commission has approved such affirmative action waivers. A Michigan Equal Employment Opportunity policy stipulates that departments conduct an impact analysis, prior to reductions in personnel, to protect affirmative action gains. However, unwillingness to waive seniority to protect affirmative action was seen as more often the case in a number of State departments. The Civil Service Commission does not audit compliance, and it is only through the filing of grievances that problems are revealed. Other Civil Service system problems mentioned as specifically impacting on Hispanics were the limited occasions for testing and the need, in many cases, for an opening to exist before testing is conducted. Availability of qualified individuals may not correspond to test dates. Maintaining applicant registers representative of minority populations was another concern cited.

A positive aspect of State employment expressed by two individuals in different departments was the availability of training opportunities. In the one department, a professional development program has involved a number of Hispanics. Another department was cited as providing in-service training and support for continued education. Internships for local college students also are available, though in limited numbers.

A significant number of Hispanics are employed in positions identified as "minority" positions, which have a primarily Hispanic constituency or focus. There was concern that these positions are not valued, or given the credibility of "mainstream" positions. It was felt that these positions frequently were created to take the "heat" off central administrations, and as a reaction to community protests. One individual referred to this as an "appendage" mentality. Yet another spoke of some State jobs where Hispanics were hired as "window dressing."

While these professional positions are a major vehicle for career initiation, they also can be dead-end if individuals are viewed as only able to deal with Hispanic-related concerns. A number of respondents expressed a significant need for Hispanics to hold higher level departmental positions in "mainstream" operations, and therefore to be able to serve as role models and mentors for Hispanics within their agencies. One individual felt that Hispanic professionals were penalized for their commitment to Hispanic causes. No specific examples were provided.

County Government

A current labor force summary supplied by Ingham County indicates that, of 712 employees, 2.1%, or 15, were Hispanics, compared to their 3.9% of county population. The other counties in the SMSA were not surveyed in the current study, due to limited resources. Hispanic percentages have grown, while total employment has declined steadily from a high of 905 in 1979. The majority of the Hispanics employed by Ingham County were described as being concentrated in clerical and low level corrections positions. A government official

thought that there were few Hispanics in the area with appropriate degrees for the fields represented by higher level county government jobs (e.g., criminal justice, sanitation and health). Weekly county job vacancy bulletins are sent to Cristo Rey Community Center and also are printed in El Renacimiento.

The county is facing problems similar to those in the State and city personnel offices. With declining revenue, a shrinking number of positions, and low turnover rates, movement toward affirmative action goals is extremely difficult.

Another area of concern in this public employment sector, as elsewhere in government and in private industry, was that selection processes generally tend to favor the "most qualified." Several respondents felt this to be an exclusionary policy, impacting on Hispanics who may be "qualified" but not the most qualified. Allegations of over-credentialing requirements in government positions were made. Because of their lower average educational attainments, higher numbers of drop-outs, and prevalent lack of experience, many "competent and trainable" Hispanics were viewed as chronically unable to enter county government.

City Government

According to the 1981 Municipal Employment Survey, of the total of 1,435 full-time employees with the City of Lansing, 45 (or 3.1%) were Hispanics, excluding CETA workers. This fell below the 1980 Census benchmark of 6.3% for Hispanics in Lansing. Hispanic numbers and percentage of the city employee force fell between 1980 and 1981. As indicated in the report, "this group is substantially underrepresented in the full-time permanent work force." Of the Hispanics employed by the city, the majority are in maintenance (31%), clerical (25%), and protective services (25%), and a minority are professionals (7%) or technicians (11%). There also were 16 Hispanics employed in the "other than full-time employee" category, constituting 3% of the class. Departmental and union contracts requiring internal promotion were mentioned as key obstacles to career advancement for Hispanics. Since 1,100 of the city's employees are covered by union contracts, outside recruitment possibilities for Hispanics are negligible. The city's policy of only posting employment lists internally also was alleged to compound the situation. One individual did mention that the city has at times relied on Cristo Rey Community Center for referrals. The Lansing Police Department was noted as having done extensive recruitment of Hispanic and black officers. Recently, the new mayor has taken a more active posture in the area of minority hiring, including monthly monitoring and insistence on results.

Training Programs

Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) Programs

A major number of publicly sponsored training programs in the Lansing area have been run under CETA. CETA-funded providers of employment training services available to the area Hispanic community include the Cristo Rey Manpower

Program, the Youth Development Corporation, Michigan Economics for Human Development, the Greater Lansing Urban League, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and various Job Clubs. Program entrance requirements include low income, minimal educational attainment, and underemployment or unemployment.

Training components of CETA programs include:

- Counseling: Personal and Employment
- Job Seeking Skills
- Career Guidance
- Placement Assistance
- Educational Assistance
- Referral
- On-The-Job Training (OJT)
- Work Experience

Combinations of these different elements have varied among programs. All of the training programs include development of an Employability Development Plan (EDP). For some of the clients this could mean both short and long term goals, with different types of training scheduled to achieve them. One source gave the example of a client who lacked a few credits for a high school diploma and desired to work in the field of air conditioning. The EDP for that person would include registration with the Lansing Adult and Continuing Education Program. Enrollment at LCC for more advanced instruction would be a subsequent goal.

With the expiration of CETA legislation and current start-ups under the new Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), future training directions are not certain. Individuals familiar with these programs, and particularly with their effects on Hispanic participants, were interviewed. Some of their comments shed light on positive and negative components of the programs, and possible developments considering economic constraints. It was a pervasive belief (soon validated) that emphasis on public sector subsidized employment would eliminated. Earlier reauthorizations of CETA had exemplified this shift toward training. Mixed reactions were voiced as to whether elimination of economic maintenance programs would exclude more individuals from participation in training programs. One respondent, criticizing the emphasis on remuneration, believed that negative feelings toward school would only be exacerbated. Another person remarked that CETA programs locally had not been set up to develop worker skills but rather to provide employment records. In fact, he observed, many CETA participants were recently divorced women in need of a work history. While legislators have been attempting to shift the initiative for training of the disadvantaged to the private sector, several knowledgeable sources were not optimistic. Difficulties were detailed of past attempts to induce private employers to participate in OJT programs or to retain trainees after tax subsidies were exhausted. More participation in training programs by the Private Industry Councils required under JTPA was stated to be desirable. Jurisdictional problems also were cited. Because of the number of existing job developers in the Lansing area, there were per-

ceived to have been too many bidding for CETA training monies and not enough for existing job placements and work experience.

Targeting services to the least educated and most impoverished, one source pointed out, was not the most productive training method. Those with the greatest potential to succeed, and make an impact on Hispanic employment status, were individuals with more education and, generally, above CETA minimum requirements. Another community agency worker felt that the programs' clienteles were those with minimal skills who were destined for permanent menial occupational status. Others, however, believed that the opposite occurred. Program personnel, said another source, often ran the risk of violating CETA admission criteria in order to select the clients who would appear to have the greater chance of success. This process, generally known as "creaming," has occurred in many similar programs.

Another stated concern was over the use of Tri-County or SMSA data in assessing Hispanic population needs. Compared to their 3% of the SMSA population, Hispanics comprise 3.8% and 6.3% of Ingham County and City of Lansing respectively. Combined with a perceived undercount of Hispanics in the U. S. Census, the community was sensed to be in real danger of not being allocated a "fair share" of training monies.

Cristo Rey Manpower Program

The Cristo Rey Community Center is seen as the main employment and training agency which serves Hispanics in the Greater Lansing area. The stated purpose of the Center is to "create a physical and institutional focus for the Spanish-speaking of the Lansing area in order to offer specially needed programs, services and activities and to make them available to those who otherwise because of language or cultural barriers would be neglected of services." Funded primarily through Catholic Social Service, Capital Area United Way, and various public and private grants, the Center is the one remaining Hispanic community organization which has been able to expand its services in recent years. From a meager budget of $40,000 in 1967, it has grown to $600,000 annually. For FY 1981, over $126,000 was allocated to the Manpower Program. This sum was cited by several respondents as inadequate to address the worsening employment situation. In the FY 1983 budget request, a 35% increase in demand for services was recorded. In fact, a major problem mentioned is lack of facilities in which to expand. More federal resources could not be obtained without new building construction or relocation. Aside from its CETA Manpower program, the Cristo Rey Center provides programs assisting migrants, senior citizens, handicappers, substance abusers and also makes available emergency assistance, health clinics, counseling, and cultural awareness services.

In FY 1981, 275 individuals participated in the Center's Manpower program. Of those, 85% were minority, and 80% were below the poverty line. Clients ranged in age from 14 to 28 years. A total of 220 were enrolled in placement services, and 55 were in work experience. Placement services represent attempts to find positions for those assessed as "job-ready," whereas the work experi-

ence phase is designed to train a person or provide knowledge of different occupations. Placements were made as cashiers, secretaries, construction workers, and para-professionals with State agencies. Cristo Rey could offer the minimum wage and a 30 hour a week work experience, not to exceed 13 weeks. The agency encouraged clients not to take full advantage of this option, so that more individuals could participate. Limiting subsidies, explained one source, heightened the motivation to seek out regular employment. One report indicated that 78% of those enrolled in work experience in FY 1981 found placements, and 40% enrolled in placement services found employment. Some CETA workers were placed in-house with the Cristo Rey recreation program.

Under Title IIB of CETA, Cristo Rey provides referrals, employability skills programs, and placements, but has limited resources for actual training. Other employment services offered by Cristo Rey's Manpower Program include job orientation and job counseling. Supportive services provided upon request include mental health counseling, food, clothing, medicine, credit and financial assistance, housing and furniture assistance, adult bilingual education, and legal aid.

The total staff of the Cristo Rey Center in FY 1981 was 23.4 FTE, of which around 80% were Hispanic. While the Center serves all racial/ethnic groups in need and works with other United Way service agencies, "bilingual, bicultural in most cases is a requirement for most of our programs." Cristo Rey also depends heavily on volunteer services, including student practicums and internships. It was the opinion of a service delivery person that, in spite of its limitations, CETA in this setting did have a positive impact. Of particular importance in successful outcomes, it was said, was follow-up with clients and employees to help formulate optional placement conditions. A high percentage of the Manpower trainees have language problems. To remedy this situation, participation was encouraged in adult education language classes and high school completion classes offered at the community center.

An individual who had been an OJT participant depicted what the experience entailed for some Hispanics. Placed at a local newspaper, it was stated, trainees did only minimum wage clerical and minor printing tasks. This level of work was attributed partially, however, to lack of writing skill. Another individual mentioned definite benefits in the CETA experience of "learn by doing," and its contribution to resume development. However, an awareness was expressed of cultural differences in the mainstream work force. Also remarked upon was a higher consciousness of English language ability, combined with lower expectations from Spanish-speaking individuals, especially in the media. One former CETA participant attributed her ability to turn the position into permanent employment to her own assertiveness, involvement of an Hispanic community leader, and a good deal of luck. In former years Hispanics were recruited from different parts of the state to participate in local CETA-sponsored programs. Due to cutbacks, this practice ceased.

The Cristo Rey Center also has referred CETA trainees to the local Spanish/English newspaper, El Renacimiento. Since 1981, ten individuals have been placed with this Hispanic, cultural-oriented enterprise. The paper also contributes to awareness of employment-related opportunities in the community. It prints information monthly on training programs and scholarships from public agencies, and positions available with both public and private employers. It was urged that this type of community organ be used more for Anglo-Hispanic understanding, and to recruit for training in programs to be developed under new federal legislation.

Michigan Economics for Human Development (MEHD) - Migrant Programs

MEHD is headquartered in Grand Ledge, with a regional office in Lansing. In FY 1980 there were ten area offices and seven satellite (summer only) offices throughout the state. The Lansing office provided training programs for migrants and ex-offenders, predominantly of Spanish heritage. The agency also conducted a youth program and a home weatherization project. According to a knowledgeable source, the fact that MEHD had no youth program in 1982 was a significant loss.

MEHD offers classroom training to the economically and educationally deprived. Also provided, in 1980, were short-term work experiences. Participating employers received tax credits for hiring trainees. During training periods, individuals were required to submit employability development plans. One agency worker felt the program could be improved by more "transitional" classes beyond basic English classes. As of August 1982, one source said, 15 had been served in the migrant relocation program and 88 in the PINTO ex-offender project. MEHD also promoted Migrant Education Scholarships and ran a "less-than-classroom" program. The scholarship program provided assistance in filling out admissions applications, plus supportive and financial services. In this way, migrant and seasonal agricultural workers and their beneficiaries could attend colleges and universities in Michigan. Ten scholarships were awarded in FY 1980. This program received highly favorable comments as one of the few programs that had a meaningful effect on widening career potentials.

One of the more controversial and problem-laden endeavors has been MEHD's PINTO project. PINTO was designed to assist Latino and Native American offenders and ex-offenders in their re-entry to society. Efforts were focused on counseling, training, and job placements. Local sources indicated that there had been no supportive services available for this clientele, beyond limited provision of clothing. Significant resistance was encountered in attempts to place participants who had a history of incarceration. Union contract provisions, limiting outside hiring during layoffs, apparently presented further obstacles.

As of mid-1982, MEHD was experiencing program reduction, as were most social service agencies. One respondent noted that outreach efforts and summer work-study with local colleges had been cut. Similarly, training has been severely restricted. The agency's budget was depicted as being reduced without a

parallel drop in numbers of clients to be served. Another problem mentioned was the inability of MEHD to obtain official recognition as a community-based organization. This was asserted to have adversely affected funding availability.

Other Migrant Programs

The Michigan Department of Social Services (DSS) and the Michigan Employment Security Commission (MESC) both provide services for migrants and seasonal farm workers. These services generally are related to direct living support, agricultural placement, health service, food stamps, day care, etc., rather than job training. One estimate was that the DSS serves around 70% of the migrant population. In 1981, in the Tri-Counties, around 480 migrants received assistance from the DSS Migrant Unit. As a result of Michigan's budget problems, the migrant staff at DSS statewide has shrunk from 102 in 1980 to 51 in 1982. A few of the seasonal staff have moved to full-time employment at the central department office in Lansing. Another protective mechanism has been a contractual provision which allows for Hispanics to be recalled, despite seniority rules, if their bilingual skills are required for client service delivery. In August of 1982, a source indicated, this policy had been used to recall seven employees. Ironically, it was pointed out, language requirements may create a barrier for employment in this area if individuals cannot pass a Spanish proficiency test.

MESC serves as a referral agency and aids agricultural employment through its Rural Employment Services. A Lansing office serves the South Central area of Michigan. Migrant and seasonal agricultural workers also are referred to supportive service and training programs. Two different committees exist to coordinate migrant services and formulate policy recommendations. These include the Capital Area Migrant Resource Council and the State government Interagency Council on Migrant Affairs. Views varied on the effectiveness of these bodies in the development of programs.

MESC Services - The MESC also provides employment services for indigenous Lansing area Hispanics. As with the general populace, MESC distributes unemployment benefits, and administers Job Service and various federal employment-oriented programs. In evaluating the performance of this agency in serving the local Hispanic community, various perceptions were expressed. A recurring critique was the apparent lack of information available specific to Hispanic utilization rates, especially in relation to level of need. One individual asserted that, when data was collected by such agencies, it was generally only categorized under white and non-white identifiers. This provided little basis for in-depth examinations of program effectiveness for different groups. Also mentioned was a desire to have MESC job listing and service descriptions published in Spanish.

One individual mentioned working for the former MESC/DSS-run WIN program, which attempted to find positions for AFDC recipients. Attempts to place Hispanics were hampered on occasion by lack of marketable skills. This

program was viewed by one who had been involved in it as having benefited Hispanics little. No training was provided, and few achieved employment.

A few individuals mentioned negative, non-productive contacts with MESC's Employment Service. A perceived lack of job developers and recruiters in the areas hardest hit by unemployment was decried. Another criticized practice was the transfer of certification for targeted job tax credits (TJTC) from local training agencies to MESC agencies. One source indicated that small employers were more willing to hire subsidized workers for the tax credit when the local agencies completed the necessary paperwork for them. Other concerns voiced were over low Hispanic staff levels in MESC, which made Hispanic clients less willing to utilize these services. A number of respondents felt that Hispanics--because of pride, fear, or lack of information--did not use MESC services to which they were entitled.

Youth Development Corporation

The Model Cities-spawned YDC accepts referrals from 32 local agencies and provides work experience counseling, job seeking skills workshops, and referral and placement services. In 1981, reflecting the general trend, a number of programs ceased to function through YDC. GED preparation, the youth conservation program, and OJT programs were cut. YDC does, however, still provide drug abuse and crisis intervention counseling on a limited basis. Clients served ranged from 14-21 years of age. Generally, they were out-of-school youth in the Tri-County area. A number of clients are predelinquent or court referred. Although not a program specifically designed for Hispanics, YDC does serve a sizeable number. Information provided indicates that, from August 1981 to July 1982, monthly average Hispanic participation in YDC programs was around 10%. Individuals generally were placed in work experience in public service agencies; e.g., in local and state government units as clerks, janitors, teaching assistants, or park workers. To provide job search motivation, most of these jobs have a four-month limit. The positions are funded in part through CETA.

YDC-sponsored training was provided primarily by Lansing Adult Education and Lansing Community College. As with other CETA-sponsored programs, all participants must have an employability plan. Unsubsidized placement rates as high as 40% to 50% were cited for program participants. In the light of recent budgetary cuts, future potentials for such employment in non-profit agencies are viewed as very low.

Other Agency Programs

Other agencies, such as the Urban League and the defunct Model Cities Program, have provided employment and training services to significant segments of the Hispanic community. They employed a visible Hispanic staff. Community-based Hispanic organizations such as Quinto Sol had been unable to survive, it was said, because of lack of requisite management skills. One individual asserted the necessity of Hispanics running programs for their own community. Beyond this, program operation and financial management were to be better handled by

separate organizations. There was, however, no widespread consensus among those interviewed on this proposal.

Cultural Maintenance and Community Organizations

The cohesiveness of the Lansing area Hispanic community, and its formal and informal networks as forces for political advocacy, was viewed differently among the survey respondents. There did not exist a consensus on the concept of the "Hispanic community" itself. There was, however, a pervasive sense that untapped potential did exist if Spanish heritage individuals could be motivated to participate in local initiatives aimed at improving their economic and employment status as a group. One person familiar with advocacy groups depicted the Hispanic community as having isolated itself from the mainstream culture. Others found that to be an overstatement and too stereotypical.

Cited as the originators of present day community organizations were cultural groups such as the Mutual Society. Founded in 1946, this group is now called the Mexican Patriotic Committee. In the 1940's, Hispanic recreational teams, as well as organizations related to the Catholic Church, marked the genesis of cultural awareness and advocacy. A long-time resident of the community attributed the past development of Hispanic organizers to the influence of church leadership programs. He felt the need for a reactivation of such programs by various denominations with significant Hispanic membership.

While community-based organizations reached their heyday in the past decade, there are survivors who are making themselves felt. Lack of managerial experience and cutbacks in social assistance revenues caused the demise of a number of advocacy groups in the Hispanic community. This parallels cutbacks for other minorities, especially blacks. Pointing to a diversity of remaining organizations (Cristo Rey, GI Forum, MUM, LULAC, El Renacimiento), one advocate expressed optimism over regeneration of local activism.

A positive "grass roots" initiative mentioned frequently was "Uno Mas." This Hispanic-led and targeted voter registration drive was conducted by Mujeres Unidas de Michigan (MUM). MUM is a feminist organization which, since 1975, has striven to develop leadership skills and confidence for its members. It also conducts cultural maintenance activities. "Uno Mas" was claimed to have played a pivotal role in the political life of the community. It was credited with having played an important part in the election of an Hispanic to the Ingham County Board of Commissioners. A large number of respondents characterized area Hispanics as being far behind in political activism and advocacy compared to black and women's groups. One politically involved individual estimated that only 30% of Lansing's Hispanics are registered to vote and that, as a group, they have not been vocal. As one observer commented, "They need to believe they have a stake in the system." Also remarked upon was the need for groups to be aggressive and to "raise hell" if they were to have their interests addressed.

It was felt that area Hispanics lacked a sophisticated political network. Particularly to be encouraged was coalition-building with other groups. In the face of the inability of Hispanics and Hispanic-oriented candidates to win on the strength of their constituency vote, new alignments were called for. The recent election of the Hispanic director of the Cristo Rey Community Center to the Lansing City Council can be interpreted in different ways. It can be seen as a result of greater political involvement by the Hispanic community. The candidate appears, also, however, to have bridged the cultural/ethnic gap and attracted support from a variety of groups.

Another Hispanic group involved in the political arena is the previously-mentioned School District Chicano Advisory Committee. While primarily concerned with curricular and retention problems, this group was designated by one respondent as a potential force in future millage elections. The presence of a Lansing area Hispanic on the State Board of Education was cited as evidence of involvement in policy-making positions, at least in the field or education. There also has been a 32-member Hispanic Advisory Committee to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The function of this group is to examine legislation, programs, and state agencies which impact Hispanic concerns. Three Hispanics have been employed on the previous Speaker's research staff. One individual mentioned that, in the past, an Hispanic affairs advisor had functioned within the Governor's Office. Reinstitution of this immediate input into high level policy has been sought. New opportunities were envisioned as part of the new gubernatorial administration. It was remarked that Hispanics previously were not seen as a significant political force and so lacked many patronage opportunities. The change of leadership was proposed as a possible avenue for achieving recognition of the needs of Hispanics in employment and training as well as other fields. Advocacy by Hispanics will be especially important, it was felt, if the rumored attempts to repeal bilingual education during a future session of the Legislature proved accurate.

Another tool for Hispanic advocacy recognized by interviewees was the Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs (COSSA), which sponsored the current study. Organizationally within the State Department of Management and Budget, COSSA is composed of 15 volunteer commissioners appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. COSSA and its staff are tasked to make recommendations and work with governmental agencies "to assist Spanish-speaking persons with problems of education, employment, civil rights, health, housing, senior citizens, and other related areas." In 1981, COSSA sponsored a Proposal Writing Workshop with the Latino Caucus of New Detroit. This endeavor was focused on training community-based organization leaders in procuring government funds. At one time, it was recalled, COSSA retained an Hispanic in-house employment specialist. This person provided assistance in job preparation, resume writing, and application processes. Due to budgetary cutbacks, even these rudimentary services were eliminated. Opinions varied among respondents as to the ability of this form of advisory body to provide direct employment services or amass significant data to impact legislative developments, particularly within current budgetary constraints. Its goal,

one asserted, should be to provide referral, grants, and special programs and to coordinate information on State services.

Beyond consideration of formal advisory boards and community-based organizations, most of the respondents expressed a definite need for "grass roots" Hispanic participation. Involvement of "elite" community leaders and economically successful Hispanics also was seen as essential. While hardly a revolutionary concept, it was maintained as the ideal toward which to strive. Methods for eliciting this type of commitment were not readily cited. Suggestions did arise for various organizational and informal strategies listed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV
RESPONDENT RECOMMENDATIONS

In all interviews, recommendations were sought for improving employment and training conditions in the Greater Lansing area Hispanic community. The majority of recommendations were based on a widely held view that Hispanics are not receiving appropriate services and that programmatic and political innovations are desirable. Some individuals felt that many problems experienced by Hispanics are a result of low socioeconomic status. Others perceived difficulties distinctive to the Hispanic situation. Some recommendations stemmed from specific educational or occupational knowledge and experience. Many more arose from individual perceptions regarding unmet needs or apparent discrimination. Finally, many responses related to perceived needs for changes in legislation or in agency services, and in processes for Hispanic community action.

Education

Public Schools

- Counseling - Judging by the frequency with which it was mentioned, academic and career counseling for Hispanic students is of widespread concern. Various respondents expressed a need for "more, and more effective, counseling...," "increased career counseling...," "more realistic employment counseling...," and "more mentoring and support." Several cited the need for greater use of local as well as broad-based labor market information in development of career strategies and vocational education. This, they hoped, would create training programs aimed toward employment growth areas. Also mentioned was "the popularizing of futuristics." "Pre-college awareness of occupational requirements" should be introduced at an earlier age, it was said, to reinforce positive career choices for Hispanic students.

- Staffing - Related to increased counseling, a top priority mentioned was increased hiring of Hispanic and bilingual counselors and teachers in the Lansing School District. While not all individuals agreed on the concept, a number expressed belief in the importance of having Hispanic staff as role models. Hispanic students, these persons claimed, would use Hispanic counselors much more readily.

- Special Programs - There is widespread belief in the merits of specifically targeted services such as bilingual and migrant programs, and ethnic studies. Continued support for LSD's bilingual vocational education program particularly was recommended. Extension of the bilingual program to grades 7 through 12, and offering Spanish language classes in earlier grades, also were recommended. Development of a "sister school" program, involving Texas schools that Michigan migrant children attend, was suggested as a useful innovation to provide some educational continuity for those students. Multi-cultural programs were seen as useful instruments

for promoting cultural identity and ethnic awareness among Hispanics and other groups.

- Vocational Education - Respondents often stressed a need to strengthen these programs, and extend their availability to students in lower grades. Included in vocational education courses, it was said, should be information on job services provided by the MESC. To protect this program against potential cutbacks in federal monies, diversification of funding sources (i.e., State and local government, and private foundations) was suggested.

- Curriculum Development - Curricular policy proposals to benefit Hispanic students included markedly expanded mathematics requirements, and greater concentration on college preparatory programs (for two-year or four-year degrees) in all high school academic areas. It was recommended that educational attainment data, as measured by the Michigan Education Assessment Program, be analyzed and used for specific remediation. Included in the MEAP should be ethnic identifiers to indicate which achievement areas, for specific groups, need particular attention. One respondent felt that more involvement of Hispanic high school students in extracurricular activities, especially those related to career aspirations, should be strongly encouraged by families and the schools.

- Program Development - For advocacy purposes, the main concern expressed was that education program development be directed toward the serious drop-out rate of Hispanic high school students. Suggestions were put forth that greater Hispanic community input into educational policy-making boards might alleviate this trend. One remark was, "All school districts with a sizeable Hispanic student population should have a community liaison with extensive resources." Further, a greater degree of "accountability and sensitivity to Hispanic parents" was desired from the Chicano Advisory Committee to the LSD. Still others called for development by the Superintendent of a "comprehensive plan" to deal with the academic performance of Hispanic students.

Post-Secondary Education

- Higher Education - Concerns voiced in the area of higher education parallel those for the public school system. Increased hiring of Hispanic teachers and administrators was advocated, particularly at the community college level. In areas of curriculum, suggestions included encouraging Hispanic students to participate in "communications" and "labor" classes. Further recommended were intensified efforts by higher education administrators to seek out private funding of scholarships for Hispanics. One recommendation was the development of a "skills bank" at Michigan State University, which would identify qualified minorities and women for future positions. Pointing out that, in 14 years, Governor Milliken had not appointed any Hispanics to governing boards of colleges and universities, several individuals saw this as a specific goal for advocacy groups.

- Adult and Continuing Education - Recommendations for other types of post-secondary educational programs focused on worker retraining and leadership programs. Targeted retraining efforts for Hispanics were mentioned as especially deserving of consideration, due to the high layoff rates in Michigan's major industries. It was suggested that funding for a statewide Hispanic leadership program, based on the types of services offered by MSU's Cooperative Extension Service, might be solicited from private foundations. One person expressed a need for development of a leadership program specifically for Hispanic women. Expanded opportunities for professional development, such as the existing Educational Policy Fellowship Program (but targeted specifically for Hispanics), also was recommended.

Public Employment Services

Current Agency Services

- Human Service Delivery Programs - Comments directed toward the roles of employment and training services agencies which provide service delivery and outreach programs specifically targeted for minorities included the need for improved data collection on minority clients. Reviews of state department services, clienteles, and staffing levels in relation to affirmative action goals and timetables were suggested. To achieve these ends, it was said, standardization of data collected by all departments should occur, along with improved access to that information by relevant agencies and concerned groups. Respondents urged specific identification and recruitment of Hispanics needing employment and training services. Increased funding was desired for existing services, and categorical grants (one respondent advocated $5 million per year) for "Hispanic programs." Especially in areas with large Hispanic concentrations, higher funding and targeted services were desired. Respondents also supported provision of multicultural in-service programs for human service personnel and educators, to create greater awareness of attributes and problems specific to different groups.

- Michigan Employment Security Commission - In efforts to improve Hispanic's employment status, the MESC was singled out as a particularly important agency. Because of its function as an employment referral agency, respondents suggested that it might be a potential focus for a "Hispanic job bank." It was felt that many Hispanics use informal networks to obtain jobs, and this type of information might be elicited by community channels. Also suggested was creation of an Hispanic skills bank comparable to the Michigan Department of Civil Service prototype. Expanded emphasis on targeted tax credits for employers hiring Hispanics also was cited. At the same time, simplification of current tax credit procedures was seen as necessary. Interviewees also stated that agencies providing training services for migrants should offer more meaningful education. These educational opportunities, it was said, should be extended to persons over 18 who have minimal skills.

To encourage employers' participation, respondents suggested that sponsoring agencies, rather than central State departments, should be able to provide tax certification. Also seen as desirable was establishment of satellite MESC (and other public agency) offices in Hispanic neighborhoods. Respondents also proposed augmented MESC efforts to identify employment listings from businesses which now do not post openings with its offices.

- Community-Based Organizations - CBO's providing services to the Hispanic community were encouraged to diversify beyond English as a Second Language courses and traditional (i.e., clerical and other entry level) jobs programs to broaden occupational potential of their clients. Since existing organizations such as the Cristo Rey Community Center generally only provide entry level placements, it was stated, a referral system for mid-level positions should be developed.

  When allocating funds for CBO programs, respondents urged that fiscal and operational responsibilities be separated. One person saw this as a way of increasing the survival rate of Hispanic agencies which in the past, it was said, often have been unable to meet administrative and fiscal requirements while delivering services. Concern also was voiced that Michigan Economics for Human Development (MEHD), which operates migrant and related programs, should be classified as a "legitimate community-based organization" for federal and State funding purposes. In the same vein, increased overall funding for MEHD was prescribed.

New Training Programs

- Training and/or Employment Focus - With the expiration of CETA, it was clearly recognized that replacement programs need to be designed. Increasing use of block grants to the states was seen as allowing greater local initiatives in program development under the provisions of the just started Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Respondents were split on their opinions about future creation of public service, CETA-type employment for Hispanics and others. While all expressed strong support for a statewide "jobs training, skills training, and retraining" program, a number voiced opposition to limited-time positions. Another group, however, supported the concept. Others felt the need to retain income maintenance provisions for individuals participating in job training programs.

- Other Types of Programs - There was also a lack of unanimity on whether programs specifically designed for Hispanics should be a priority. Some respondents detailed target goals, areas, funding levels, and timetables for programs specific to the Hispanic community. Internship programs in the School District, State departments, and private business were encouraged, with emphasis on preparing Hispanics for mid-level and professional positions. Others recommended more training in "employability skills" for Hispanics (i.e., resume writing, interviewing techniques, and interpersonal skills) and creation of an economic development program for

Hispanics. A final suggestion was to discontinue use of the Tri-County area or the SMSA as a data base for local work force statistics. It was felt that, since Hispanics comprise a much larger proportion of Ingham County and Lansing's population than they do of the more rural counties, this procedure works against desirable affirmative action goals.

Employment Policies

Public Sector

- Recruitment - To increase utilization rates of Hispanics in State and local government employment, special outreach programs were recommended. A number of interviewees urged State-level initiatives, aimed particularly at attracting Hispanic college students into government jobs. State and local units which rely primarily on internal promotion policies were encouraged to increase outside recruitment. Maintenance of "Hispanic recruitment lists" for potential openings in Lansing city government also was proposed. Another suggestion was to hire Hispanics as recruiters in State personnel offices. In State government recruitment efforts, it was suggested that departments make use of the local Hispanic newspaper, El Renacimiento, for advertising services and posting positions.

- Affirmative Action - Hiring or promotion of Hispanics to high level executive positions, by the City of Lansing and State government departments, is a priority cited by several persons. Visibility of Hispanic individuals at the decision-making level was regarded as important for motivating younger job seekers. For purposes of monitoring affirmative action status, respondents said, more comprehensive data collection on clients served and agency staffing levels, with racial/ethnic identifiers, should be mandated. Additionally, it was recommended that State bargaining units should require contract provisions protecting Hispanic employees whose bilingual skills are necessary to servicing special target populations. In hiring procedures, examination of the concept of "qualified," as opposed merely to "most qualified," was advocated. Strengthened enforcement of compliance by outside contractors with Lansing's affirmative action policies was desired. A final recommendation was elimination of the Pressey test in City of Lansing hiring procedures.

Private Sector

- Increased Hiring and Higher Occupational Levels - Recommendations for increased hiring, especially in the mid and upper level positions, paralleled those for government. For the Greater Lansing area, it was felt that industry employment goals for Hispanics should be proportionate to their population share. To encourage private enterprise to provide types of training and remediation, perceived as formerly the province of the State, incentives and more aggressive pressure were advocated. Emphasis also was placed on provision of on-the-job training under private busi-

ness auspices. As with public sector concerns, examination of the concept of "most qualified" was suggested as a means to advance employment potentials for those capable yet lacking more formal certifications. Some individuals felt that Hispanics had a tendency to participate in volunteer efforts, which should be but were not recognized as formal work experience.

- Union Involvement - Internships or apprenticeships are frequently recommended avenues for skills development. Union sponsorship of Hispanic workers in these types of training programs was seen as highly desirable. Also suggested was expansion of union-sponsored adult education programs at industrial facilities.

- Hispanic Business Involvement - Greater advocacy for more training programs by Hispanics who have become successful in private business was mentioned frequently. Individuals of this type, it was said, particularly should work more with community organizations toward providing training and employment opportunities. For persons who are thinking of entering business, formal programs were encouraged which would assist "adequate assessment of the market for product and services." One individual emphasized the need for "understanding by potential Hispanic business persons that they must work hard."

  Respondents recommended that State and local agencies help Hispanic business owners pursue opportunities such as the recently announced Presidential directive that the federal government buy $15 billion in goods and services from businesses owned by blacks and Hispanics during the next three years. (Included in this program is provision of around $1.5 billion in credit assistance, and $300 million in management and technical assistance. Another announced component was assignment of the Small Business Administration and Minority Business Development Agency to "assist directly" in establishing 60,000 minority businesses and to help expand 60,000 existing ones.) Community-based organizations, it was said, should aggressively test the realities of these programs.

Political Action

Structural Changes

- Advocacy Appointments - Several recommendations stressed a need for more Hispanics to be appointed on state agencies, governing bodies, commissions, task forces, and policy-making boards which affect education, employment, and training. (LCC's 1982-83 grant for a Community Leadership Academy, to provide board training for key advocates, is a useful step in that direction.)

- Advocacy Groups - Opinions varied as to the most productive role for existing entities such as the Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs (COSSA). Some individuals felt improvements best could be made within the current structure. One suggestion was the appointment of two State

legislators as ex-officio members, similar to the arrangement between the Lansing School District Board and the Chicano Advisory Committee. More funding for COSSA was advised, to enable it to collect more data on the status of the Hispanic community. Also advocated were "shared time" arrangements with knowledgeable State workers and COSSA. Development of interaction between the Commission and the Small Business Administration, it was felt, could result in tangible benefits to individual enterprises.

Other recommendations were an Office of Hispanic Affairs within the Executive Office of the Governor, or gubernatorial appointment of a special liaison for Hispanic affairs. A suggested alternative to special Hispanic advocacy bodies was creation of a "statewide human resource commission," including Hispanic representatives, which would work in a task force mode.

- Target Program Funding - Increased budgetary support of agencies servicing Hispanic needs, particularly ones that are viewed as successful in such efforts, received frequent mention. Further proposed was creation of programs that "meet self identity needs" and support "ethnic consciousness" of Hispanics. It was suggested that new Hispanic organizations be funded under the auspices of more established ones. Another remark was, "Any job-related legislation must define specific racial/ethnic groups to be served."

- Broad Initiatives - More general recommendations were for creation of a statewide works project and a political education program. Drastic alteration of the current tax structure, aimed at job creation, also was called for.

Community Action

- Political Involvement - Many interviewees expressed the view that members of the Hispanic community need to be much more active politically. Increased voter registration, and non-partisan support of Hispanic candidates and advocates for Hispanic interests, were emphasized. Offices that Hispanics particularly should strive for, it was said, were the State Legislature and Associate Superintendents of Education. Higher levels of individual participation for visibility and advocacy at all levels of government was mentioned widely. It was recommended that community pressure be focused on creation of job training and employment programs to place Hispanics in permanent, private sector jobs. Respondents stated that knowledgeable Hispanics should be willing to provide "ongoing testimony before legislative committees" which are responsible for economic development programs. Input by Hispanic parents into educational policy development also was emphasized. Coordinated efforts were recommended with the Department of Commerce to promote Hispanic business.

- Coalition Building - Strengthening of Hispanic networks and support groups for greater visibility and unity on priorities was a major stated concern. Funding drives, it was said, would be assisted by a united

campaign for Hispanic candidates and issues. One respondent recommended "identification and creation of informal and formal associations where Hispanics can develop skills for employability." Potential new organizations suggested were an Association of Hispanic State Employees and an Association of Hispanic Union Leaders and Membership. Within Hispanic organizations, and between them and other minority advocacy groups, interviewees recommended coalitions whose goals would include developing local employment plans.

- Personal Development - On a personal level, one respondent stressed the importance of the family in promoting skills development and job search efforts. "The family needs to push students to select serious studies (e.g., mathematics)," and individuals must understand the need for "persistence in job hunting."

- Other Groups - Greater involvement in employment and training programs by members of the Catholic and Protestant Church hierarchy was recommended. Several individuals also identified those employed in the media as potent resources toward increased visibility for Hispanic concerns and for coalition building.

APPENDIX A

Annotated Bibliography

Choldin, Harvey M. and Trout, Grafton D., Mexican Americans In Transition: Migration and Employment In Michigan Cities. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1969.

This study represents one of the most extensive work of its time in the area of local Hispanic employment. It methodically samples 5,910 Mexican-Americans in the State of Michigan. These are individuals who, in the process of moving to the Midwest, have experienced varying degrees of occupational mobility. Ten communities or locales are surveyed, including Ingham County, with information being presented in aggregate form. State-wide census data covers a 27-year period. Subsequent report sections examine household composition and education; migration and commu- nity stabilization; finding jobs; making a living; occupational and income mobility; and policy and research recommendations.

El Renacimiento. Lansing, Michigan, 1969-1982.

This monthly publication covers the socio-economic, cultural, and historical happenings among Hispanics in the Lansing area and the state. For the past 14 years, this bilingual newspaper has provided relevant primary and secondary documentation on Hispanic activities. Currently there is no topical catalog to aid researchers in locating articles by category.

Haney, Jane B., "Summary Of Statistical Findings: Flint-Lansing Chicano Migration Study." Lansing, Michigan, 1976.

A HUD-sponsored endeavor, this research project analyzes census tract data for the two cities to determine centralization, segregation, and migration patterns. A follow-up survey of 2,700 households provides extensive socio-economic data on occupational levels and status, income, educational attainment, and religious preference. This work has significant applica-bility for formal employment studies. Original survey material was not available at the time of this study.

Herrera, Salvador, La Raza In Ingham County, 1920-1976. Sol De Aztlan, Inc. Lansing, Michigan, 1976.

This Bicentennial publication provides a brief overview of Chicano history, demographics, the sugarbeet industry, community organizations, employment, media, culture, and education in the Lansing area. It may be of limited use as a resource in larger labor studies.

Lansing/Tri-County Manpower Administration, "CETA Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1981." Lansing, Michigan, 1981.

CETA activities and analyses of program outcomes, including participant characteristics are documented in this annual report. Coverage includes the twenty-eight programs in the Tri-County region. Targeted group (Hispanic and Native American) participation rates are also noted. Labor market analysts, demographers, human service deliverers and administrators will find the report of potential benefit in client identification, targeting services, and in evaluation.

Michigan Civil Rights Commission, "Annual Report: 1980-1981." Lansing, Michigan, 1982.

Since 1963, these annual reports have highlighted the Commission's actions, decisions, and record-keeping on complaints based upon racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual discrimination. Efforts of the Latin American Affairs Consultant are summarized. Employment grievances appear frequently but lack of ethnic and area comparisons lessen the impact of this report in labor force documentation.

Michigan Department of Civil Service, "Annual Work Force Report, Fiscal Year 1981-1982." Lansing, Michigan, 1982.

Information is provided on employment changes and trends, both current and past, which affect Michigan's state workers. A major section of the study documents recent EEO findings on government employment of blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans and Asian Americans in job categories, salary ranges, and departmental distributions. Specific urban breakdowns according to race or ethnicity does not appear.

Michigan Department of Education. "Minority Students In Michigan Colleges and Universities." Lansing, Michigan, 1979.

Data collected from 1976-1979 federal reports is used to analyze barriers to postsecondary achievement experienced by protected groups. Also included are recommendations for improved retention levels. Racial/ethnic statistics on enrollments and degrees awarded are displayed for Ingham County public and private schools. This information is useful in labor force projections, minority utilization formulas, and in affirmative action enforcement.

Michigan Department of Education, "Proceedings: International Symposium on Hispanic-American Diversity." Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1981.

Because this document presents aggregate statistical data, variation among Hispanic subgroups in language usage, educational attainment, occupational levels, and income differentials cannot be identified. Other factors (health, intermarriage, and kinship network patterns) are included in an attempt to dispel stereotypes and to facilitate the provision of services based on distinctive needs rather than on group categorization. Also in

this report are tables and appendices which display subgroup characteristics on the national level.

Michigan Department of Management and Budget, Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs, "Annual Report, 1981." Lansing, Michigan, 1982.

Efforts to develop unified policy and action plans along with recommendations, are included in this report, first published in 1979. Statewide summaries on education, employment, data needs, information services, and community development are reported statewide. This secondary material can provide a focus for future research directed to Hispanic concerns.

Michigan Department of Management and Budget, Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs and Michigan Department of Labor, "Hispanics in Michigan State Government." Lansing, Michigan, 1981.

Information on the status of Hispanic state employees from 1972-1979 is presented in numerous graphs, charts and diagrams. Content areas include totals, occupational levels, compensation figures, utilization formulas, along with recommendations for future employment policies. While useful, this initial effort in data collection and analyses could be of wider service if individual city breakdowns could be included for comparative purposes. Because of the prominence of this state in minority employment, this document is valuable in employment and training studies.

Michigan Employment Security Commission, "Special Studies: 1970 Census of Population and Current Population Report Series; 1973 Population Estimates and 1970 Census of Population." Lansing, Michigan, 1976.

Examples of data included in these compiled reports are: Labor Force Data by Sex, Race, Ethnic and Minority Group; 1975 Annual Average Labor Force Data by Sex, Race, Ethnic and Minority Group; Occupation of Employed by Race and Sex. Statistical labor force information is presented on twenty-two regional CETA Prime Sponsors. This special study may serve as an important tool in assisting the racial/ethnic breakdown of the civilian labor force. This data is an aid in projecting trends and manpower program development and evaluation.

Michigan State University, "Report on the Role of Michigan State University in Research, Service and Education for Chicanos, Migrants and Farm Laborers with Recommendations." Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1977.

This report includes a summary of five position papers with recommendations for program development and further research. These papers were prepared by an Ad Hoc Committee on Chicanos and Migrant Workers. Areas of investigation included: Chicanos and Academic Progress at MSU; Chicanos and Employment at MSU; Needed Community Services for Chicanos; and Migrants in Michigan.

Nugent, John F., "Leadership In The Spanish Community Of Lansing, Michigan." M.A. Thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1964.

The author presents a matrix and applied typology for leaders and organizations in this analysis of thirty Hispanic community residents. Of particular value are the enumeration of organizations, summarization of historical events, and a listing of community concerns (education, employment, youth problems, discrimination, etc.).

Rodriguez, Saturnino G., A Study Of Cultural Differences Of Anglos And Chicanos In The North Side Of Lansing And Other Essays. Renaissance Press, Lansing, Michigan, 1973.

Feelings about work, time allocation, food preferences, educational expectations, interactions and language usage in the news media are the most salient factors surveyed in this cross-cultural study of 200 randomly-sampled Anglo and Chicano parents and children. Summarization of data is not in consistent formats. This work has limited labor study merits.

Sol De Aztlan, Inc., "Understanding La Raza, A Chicano Perspective." Lansing, Michigan, 1974.

Twenty socio-economic areas such as education, culture, identity, values and intra-group relationships are explored in an interview format. The materials generated have little application to employment issues but have use as a gauge to personalities and background concerns which are investigated in work force studies.

Tschetter, Paul D., "The Relationship Of Farm Work Experience To Non-Farm Work Role Orientations Among Mexican-Americans: An Exploratory Study." M.A. Thesis, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1968.

The principal findings of this "opportunity sampling" of twenty Mexican-American male laborers in the Greater Lansing area are that acceptance of work role orientations (expectations, skills, and abilities necessary to employment) along with a greater awareness of the basic elements necessary for employment, heighten competitiveness in the industrial labor market. Although conclusions are derived from a small sample, a pertinent exploration of occupational adjustment is presented.

United States Equal Employment Opportunity Council, "Job Patterns For Minorities And Women In Private Industry, 1979, Volumes 1 and 2." Washington, D.C., 1981.

Six thousand and eighty-six private businesses furnished descriptive workforce data by sex and by race/ethnic categorie for this annual federal report. State and city-wide information on numbers employed, participation rate, occupational and industrial distribution provides detailed references. While a valuable resource for demographics, trend identification,

career studies, and labor force reports, figures in this report cannot be disaggregated to identify individual industries. Reports date from 1966.

United States Equal Employment Opportunity Council, "Minorities And Women In Apprenticeship Programs And Referral Unions, 1978." Washington, D.C., 1978.

Part of a series of annual reports dating from 1967, figures for twelve Michigan Standard Metropolitian Statistical Areas (SMSA's) are compiled which depict the training record of union apprenticeships and employment referrals. Indices of mobility into skilled trades can be derived from this data. As with other EEO reports, individual industries are not identified.

APPENDIX B

Respondents in the Lansing Community Study

(with occupational titles and affiliations as of the summer of 1982)

Rogelio Alfaro	Guidance Counselor, Lansing Community College
Yolanda Alvarado	Staff Writer, Lansing State Journal
Joe Benavidez	Executive Director, Michigan Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs.
Tony Benavides	Executive Director, Cristo Rey Community Center
John Roy Castillo	Assistant Director, Michigan Department of Civil Rights
Ricardo Castillo	Job Developer, Michigan Economics for Human Development
Lupe Castro	Director of Employment and Training, Michigan Economics for Human Development
Doris Colmayer	Advisor, Adult Education Support Services, Lansing School District
Rosa Dahya	Assistant for Minority Employment, Bureau of Employment and Training, Michigan Department of Labor
Manuel Delgado	Account Agent, Allstate Insurance Company
Norman Dunham	Principal, Harry Hill Vocational Center
Michael Eyia	Employee, Compu-Link Corporation
Antonio Flores	Coordinator, Hispanic Education, Michigan Department of Education
Evelyn Fratzke	Analyst, Recruitment and Special Programs, Michigan Department of Civil Service
Sam Garcia	Manpower Coordinator, Cristo Rey Community Center
Kip Gomoll	Affirmative Action Officer, Human Relations Department, City of Lansing
Dorothy Gonzales	Legislative Research Analyst, Michigan House of Representatives

Manual Gonzalez	Director, Office of Migrant Services, Michigan Department of Social Services
David Hernandez	Industrial Pipefitter, Motor Wheel Corporation
Justo Hernandez	Specialist, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University
Maria Hernandez	Receptionist, George McClain Corporation
David Hollister	State Representative, Michigan House of Representatives
Gilberto Ibarra	Assistant Director, Personnel Department, Lansing School District
Richard Letts	Director, Human Relations Department, City of Lansing
Delma Lopez	Reentry Teacher, Lansing School District
Gloria Lopez McKnight	Supervisor, Recruitment Section, Michigan Department of Civil Service
Jose Lopez	Editor, El Renacimiento
Olga Lozano	Deputy Director, Michigan Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs
Russell Maples	Director, Adult and Vocational Education, Lansing School District
Juan Marinez	Area Director, Cooperative Extension Service, Michigan State University, and Member, Michigan Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs
Arnoldo Martinez	Bilingual Vocational-Education Coordinator, Lansing School District
Ernest Patino	Millwright, Melling Corporation
John Patino	Owner, Patino and Sons Siding Company, and employee, George McClain Corporation
Ubaldo Patino	Hispanic Coordinator, Republican State Central Committee

Argelio Perez	Supervisor, Program Development Program, School Support Services, Michigan Department of Education
Elva Revilla Miklojcik	Assistant to the Speaker, Michigan House of Representatives
Miguel Ruiz	Supervisor, Bilingual/Migrant Programs, Michigan Department of Education
Gumecindo Salas	Director, Division of Minority Programs, Michigan State University, and Member, State Board of Education
Wilfredo Santa Cruz	Owner, El Azteco Restaurants and La India Tortilla Shop
John Tucker	Executive Director, Youth Development Corporation
Armida Valdez	Community Liaison and Job Developer, Lansing School District
Charles Young	Personnel Director, Ingham County